GERMANY'S GENOCIDE OF THE HERERO: KAISER WILHELM II, HIS GENERAL, HIS SETTLERS, HIS SOLDIERS

JEREMY SARKIN



IN JAMES CURREY

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# FOREWORD BY THE PARAMOUNT CHIEF OF THE HERERO

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Just as the human predicament transcends all boundaries of time and place, the eternal facts of life revolve around problems of living together that every of the free meaning of life and community and the inevitability of scrong of the free meaning of life and community and the inevitability of scrong behaviour being a precarious foundation to by any cornerstone of civilisation on A century has now passed since scholars began to realise the need of interpreting this particular episode in history and to scientifically analyse interpreting this particular specifie. It has become critical to expose the occupiers of Manibia and thereafter to apply logal remifications against the remedy thereupon,

It seems that most of the seven deadly sins were manifest in the collective psyche of the colonalist of that era.

The German body-politic planned these events and formed financial and political alliances to gain access to land and resources. Thereafter an insidious game of monopoly ensued. The cost of human and social devastation was an treatest account consideration, in the occupier's stratagem. The anthropologists of the time held closely the social Darwinian concept of evolution, permitting as sub-fuman and backward. The anthropologists role was to scientifically legitimise these extectyanic events.

From a race-relationship perspective, this event seems to emphasise all the diplemented and moral dilemmas that continue to exist in the Euro-African of a retactial process. One might deduce that the examination and application of a retactial process would be of pre-eminent importance in today's global dialect. The negative psychosis that existed in the colonial force majour appears to be the permittiments.

to be the permittimate racial reticulation event in Africa.

The colonialist's primary objective was to jalker and externainate if challenness.

2550

When the German colonialists were confronted by effective resistance from from the ill-equipped but gallant Herero tribesmen, the result was extreme paramoia. The Kaiser and his government. News flashes were received in Germany, their military process and reputation were forced into a state of embarrasament, either Burnpean rations had to be arrested.

The perceived audacity of the Herero resistance against a self-absorbed German nation resulted in the Kaiser dispatching their most feared General, a man of ruthless resolve, General Lothar von Trotha, who had garnished a reputation for himself in conducing brutal campaigns against Africans in German East Africa, General von Trotha and the military reinforcements were promptly deployed. Thereupon the infamous Ferzichingshight, or deserent, was promulgated a national deservation order to annihilate every man, wannan and child of Heverodessent, was promulgated.

The Herero genocide in 1904 was the inaugural holocaust, succeeded by the Jewish Holocaust in the 1940s and enacted by the same sovereign power. The latter was implemented as a packaged theory acquired from the first genocidal experience. The Aryan supremacy ideology of Hitler was acquired from the author of eugenies and the incumbent Chancellor of Berlin University during the Second World War. Professor Eugen Fischer's experimentation on the human brain using the Nama and Herero as guinea pigs is an appalling testimony to luman arrogance. As to what the findings of the University of Berlin in this regard were, the question still remains unanswered.

Germany paid recompanse to the Jewish people for the atroctives exerted on them during the Second World War. It is expected that they do the same for the Heriro.

Professor Jerony Sarkin's treatise is intelligible and lucid in its vocabulary, suggests formidable objectives into healing the callous brutality of the past. The pen that traced these lines belongs to a man whose philosophical background is deeply rooted in the behavioural sciences. The direction and emplausis of this work expresses veneration for a people who encountered grussome sufferings and have survived. Not only is the author writing from a historical perspective, legal precedent and moral criteria, he is also imbued with political introspection. The author graphically paints the ordeal of the Nama and Herero of Namibian and with ingenity contextualises the amorphous mess of the extermination order with the socie-commic imbalances of the present and critically shapes the thinking for the finure society.

At this juncture in human evolutionary history, the world has become one interconnected matrix and Africa has been to-opted into the global marketplane. She has now evolved and is a target market for the Global Industrial movement.

Social blindness and arrogance is one of the afflictions of our time. Of course, the German-Flerero aga is not ret consummated. We have been compromised in growth and influence, Our relatives were set upon by savages with hunting rifles, muskets and war machinery, we were thought of as sub-human and inferior.

The dynamic that was introduced by the European, in yonder years, was incomprehensible to our ancestors. The discernment of the modern moral ounciouses is now a science and the world's citizenry is no transition.

Now we are able to elicit the co-operation of dexterous, fine human beings, who are endowed by nature to be masters of truth, who do not suffer from political partisanship. We can therefore servatinise and apply to law and expose the issue to remedy and recompense.

Professor Jereny Sarkin is one such man we view his genius as a gift from Nature herself. We congratulate him and salute his scholarly expertise. We thank him for all his work. In defining the boundaries of human behaviour, in the context of the attempted extermination of our people with the express intent of revealing the truth about this catastrophic event.

Herero Paramount Chief Kuaima Riruako Windhoek, Namibia

September 2010

#### INTRODUCTION

there are crimes which men can withen punish soo forgine. When the impossible was made possible theorem empunishable, sufforgradhe doubtur end which could un longer to malerstood and explained by the end matroes of self-interest, greed, coretournes, secretisms, last for power and covariance and which therefore anger could not resemp, love could not ensiew, frientishing could not forgets.

- Hantsals Aregult

Germany's colonisation of Namibia, then German South West Africa (GSWA), encompasses one of the worst atrocities ever the genocide of between 60 000 and 100 000 indigenous Herero people at the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>2</sup> Tens of thousands of people — men, women and children — were killed in a very short period of time Warer wells were wealed and poisoned? to prevent access to water.<sup>4</sup> Thousands, including women and children were condemned to slavery in the German military and o'vil institutions, as well as for private companies and on German farms.<sup>5</sup> Surviving Herero women were forced to become 'comfort women' for the

Arendt, H. quoted in Bachr, P. (ed.) (2000) The Paristhe Hansah drendt, New York:

Penguin, 159.

On the legal issues and claims under international law see Sarkin, 3. (2009) Colonial Graceful and Reportion Claims in the 211t Centrey. The Socio-Legal Context of Claims independent Law by the Heren against Germany for Generals in Northin, 1059–1053. Westport-Praeger Security International.

The 1859 Hague Convention, to shich Germany was a signatory, prohibited the use of poison (article 23(a) of the Regulations contained in the Annex to the Convention).

See further Sarkin, J. (2000). Colonial Genosaile and Reparations Claims in the stat. Century. The Socio-Legal Contest of Claims under International Law by the Eleven actual Genuary for Genocide in Nambia, 1904–1908. Westport: Praeger Security International.

See further Goldblat, 1. (1971) History of South West Africa. From the beginning of the statienth century. Cape Town. Juta.

settlers and soldiers.<sup>9</sup> German geneticsts came to the country to perform racial studies of alleged Herero inferiority. Herero skulls and skaletons were shipped to Germany, supposedly for further study. Various concentration camps were established, in which the mortality rate was more than 45 percent.<sup>6</sup>

Evidence of these Herero lillings was seen for several years after 'leng times of white bones lay bleaching in the sun, marking the track the stricken people had tried to follow across the wildersess." Winfred Hoernle wrote in her diary on to October 1912. It made me quite miserable, however, to hear of goings on at a German police camp and I really got quite Anjgereg over it. Each man has what he calls his Barebar, a young native girl whose dary it is to wash his clothes and to fulfill what they call the Krimus affairs. In Carteon, P., Klinghardt, G. & Weet, M. (1987) [cals) Towin me thirdhand The attribute of the attribute

labour. In that publication one paragraph reads: Because of the Heroro War about every Herero who registered voluntary. The Government sent us also prisoners of war (Hereros) 900 men, 700 women and 020 children. Gerr labour In early 1904 Hereros working in Swakopmund were interned on two (History), University of Namibia, chapter 2, 57, Arthur Koppel Company was The company Ofors Minen 4G admitted in their hundredth-year anniversary it was difficult to get enough employees to build the railway. We were happy Mines Mineral 100th anniversary commemorality publication (1900-2000) Thus there seems to be acceptance that even women and children were used as forces Erichsen, C.W. (2004) The dugel of Death has descended violently among them. A study of Namithal concentration compa and prisoners-of-rast, 1904-08. MA thesis avolved in railway construction and used Herero slave labour for that purpose Gowald notes that the exodus of people after the concentration camps urre closed caused Woermann Lines to be short of labour for loading their ships Gewald, J.B. (1999. "The road of the man called Love and the sack of Sero. The Herero-German War and the export of the Herero labour to the South African sublication in 2000 that the colonial authorities supplied labour to German nusinesses during the Herero war, which the businesses used as forced Woermann like ships anchored off the coast of the town for use as labour. See Rand. 10(1) Journal of African History, 21-40, 29.

Erichsen, CW. (2003 August Sopiember) 'Namiha's island of death. New Africas.

Eveleigh, W. (1915) South-West Africa. Cape Town: Maskew Miller. 13-8.

o Mila - Waterign de gefaspere Berres



Name and Herero prisoner-of-war camp, Alte Feste, in background, 1904

#### What is in this book?

This book examines these colonial atroctites in then GSWA. It explores the creats a tilin the context of GSWA as the only German colony considered for settlement and the only colony where settlement was actually attempted. This last fundamentally coloured the events of the time.

The book deals with Germany's brutal march to arbieve its goals in GSWA by any means possible in the relatively short period of Germany's colonial years, which stretched from 1885. To 1915<sup>11</sup>, although Germany was present in GSWA before 1885, Although the Hereero war appears to be

Certainy occupied CSNAA until World War I, but but it whos South African and Reison Javes marched one the territory. In terms of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany formally lost its colonies in 1919.

To stop the nanexation of the territory by the Cape of Good Hope, Chancellor von Kennrick anneamed, in 1888, that it was under the protection of Gormany.

an aberration persists. Of course, the Herero genocide and the atrocines but the intent to kill thousands upon thousands of indigenous peoples in different parts of Germany's colonial empire is very apparent. Further, it is problematic to argue that the events in OSWA, while unique in scope, were an aberration. The Germans slaughtered thousands elsewhere, but thus does not meet the definitional criteria of the term 'genocide', However, given the evidence that hundreds of thousands of people were killed during certain German campaigns in some of its colonies, the Herero genocide is the only 'genocide'12 Germany conducted within its colonies, it exercised bratality in many, Yet the view that the events in GSWA were somehow committed against the Nama and the Damara are qualisatively different from other German perpetrations at the time in their scale and brutality, their intent did not seem to be to wipe out an entire group as such and actually no aberration. It is certainly no anomaly in terms of the victousness with which it was conducted and the extent to which unarmed civilians, including women and children, were executed. The Herero genocide was not an isolated incident, but a pervasive trend,

Germany's actions in the colonics are embedded in the historical context of the Berlin Conference of 1884–1885, in which the colonial powers divided the lands of Africa among them and were determined to benefit from the spoils of their enterprise. In fact '[the] marginal vole of Germany in the West's colonial past was tied to a desire to catch up with other colonial powers, which without a doubt led to a discarding of luminitarian principles in countries like Namibia. \*\* The bequest of the 1884–1885 Berlin Conference that carved up Africa, imposing arbitrary borders that exist still today, has had major reverberations. This is especially true in terms of the conflicts that have racked the continent. \*\* The colonial legacy of land and other types of dispossession still plays out in very fundamental ways today.

18 See further Sarkin, J. (2009) Colonial Generate and Reparations Claims in the 2th Centary. The Socio-Legal Context of Claims under International Love by the Electro against Germany for Genecide in Naminia, 1804–1808. Westport: Praeger Security International.

nac. Nekerk, C. (2003) Rethinking a problematic censtellation: Postcolonialism and Its Germanois contexts 43 (1 & 2) Comparative Studies of South Ana, Africa and the Moddle East, 58, 69

2 2

 See Sarkin, J. (2002) Finding a solution for the problems created by the politics of electricity to Democratic Republic of the Congr (DRC). Dougraing a connected framework for peaceful co-operation. In Kenrad Ademoer Foundation (eds) The Politics of Mariety, Pretoria, Korned Ademoer Foundation.

This study does not examine German colonialism in general or the reasons behind Germany's late entry late the colonial race, but it is important to note that Germany was the last European power to enter the colonial pursuit. 16 In a very short period it acquired and lost Cameroon, German East Africa, GSWA, Togo, German New Guinen, Bismarck Archipelugo, the Solomon Islands, the Marshall Islands, Klaochow from China (in 1898 and 1899), the Carolines, the Marranas and Palva Islands (purchased from Spain) and Western Samoa (in an exchange with Britain,17 By the turn of the twentieth century Germany's colonies comprised more than a million square miles, with an indigenous population of about 14 milhon and a German-settler population of 29 000 in llowever, Germany never amassed as much territory as the other colonisers and this was a blow to the country's prestige. Critically for the Herero, the territories that Germany managed to obtain were not as valuable as those of the other European powers.18 This is significant as Germany's colonies, and GSWA in particular, must be seen in the context of Germany's desire, at least at the end of the nineteepth century and early twentieth century, to address emigration by developing another Germany in Arrica. By the tarn of the twentieth century, the notion that Germany was a nation with 'insufficient space" had developed 20

GSWA was also regarded as important trade partner, especially in light of an inercasing population in Germany that required food and employment. Additionally, creating a settlement colony provided an opportunity to mantain traditional Germans ways and values, which were declining due to modernisation. Settling Germans in a suitable colony made it possible to preserve pre-capitalist forms of life. <sup>31</sup> The idea was, therefore, to send people to eudovate orops and live a nove traditional lifestyle.

Germany's requisition and management of GSWA took place against the backdrop of the international politics of the time. Germany wanted to build its reputation and preastgo as an important political power in Europe and the Ritter-Peterson, H.G. (1991) The Herremolib montality in German South West Africa. Son-1014. Distr. (History, Predoria: University of South Africa, 600.

Zimmerer, J. and Zeller, J. (2003) Graenite in German Sauth-Wat Africa The Colonial War of 1904–1908 and its aftermath. Monmouth. Meetin Press.

Baungart, W. (1987) 'German imperialism in hitrorical perspective. In Knoll, A.J. & Gunn, L.H. (eds) German in the tropice Essays in German colonial hitrory. New York/London: Greenwood Press, 151–164, 155.

Bullock, A.L.C. (1939) German's colonial demands. London. Oxford University Press, 2.

<sup>19</sup> Aydoute, W.O. (1970) Binnard and British enland policy. The profilens of South Wat Africa 1883–1883 (2 ed.) New York Bassell & Russell, v.

world. Acquiring tokonies and developing settler communities, especially in GSWA, was an important part of this plan.<sup>23</sup> Because Germany's international prestige was closely intertwined with its colonial power and woulth, it forcefully repelled any attempts by the local population to oust the settlers. Ironically, this very conduct caused Germany to become the first colonising power to lose it colonies. At the conclusion of World War I, because of the pravisions of the Versailles Treaty, Germany lost its colonies.

Apart from international status, acquiring colonies was important for building national prestige and vindicating policies within Germany, but the attempt at achieving # large-scale settlement was at odds with reality. The number of settlers never reached the desired settlement denngraphics, However, for the current discussion, that is not of primary concern. More important is Germany's desire and attempt to establish a new homeland. The events of 1909- partly unfolded as they did because this dream was not translated into a reality.

This book does not examine the legal and socio-legal issues around these matters; that was the subject of a previous book, Colonial Genecide and Reparations Claims in the 21th Century: The Socio-Legal Context of Claims under International Law by the Herero against Germany for Genecide in Namibia, 1904-1908, published by Praeger Security International in 2009. The analysis in that book was that the events then were not only international ermes from a present-day perspective, but were international crimes at the time. Therefore, it was argued, reparations for what occurred are due to the victims today. The study viewed those atrocities in the context of the developing norms of reparations internationally, regionally and domestically and the development of historical claims in general. It appraised the Herero genocate events in light of the current critical legal issues regarding the extent to which international law affects historical claims for reparations. The book also examined the effect of the genocide on Namibia today and what the Herero are doing to attain redress. It explored the state of reparations theory and practice around the world, as well as the role of apologies in coming to terms with the past, referencing the apology Germany gave to the Herero community in \$00%. 22 Bey, H. (1967) Social discord in South West Africa 1994–1905 In Giffard, P. & Louis, WARE, [615] Bellins and Germany in Africa: Imperial strate; and colonial rule. New Haven Yale University, 607–650.

Wat Africe 1883-1886 (2 ed.), New York: Russell & Russell, v.

\* Mitter-Peterwen, H.G. (1991) The Herzersch mentality in German South West Africa. 1889-1914. DLitt (History), Pretoria. University of South Africa. 53.

Aydelorte, W.O. 11970) Biomitte and British colonial policy. The problems of South

### Why the genecide was committed

One of the major questions addressed in this book is why the Herero were the target of genocide.<sup>30</sup> Why did Germany not commit genocide against other groups too, particularly those who rebelled against its rule in other territories? This study focuses on Germany's short colonial period and specifically its role in then GSWA. Germany's conduct in some of its other colonies is only examined to provide a comparative perspective to the resument it meted out in GSWA.

The book contextualises the reasons for the genocide For marance, it any means available, including ruthlessness. This study proposes two main The genocide was not perpetrated due to the existing military culture of argues how the genneide can be understood in terms of the global milliou and the internal climate in Germany of the time and how these played our vis-à-vis Germany's goals in GSWA. The study contends that the genocide was not the work of one general from Germany or the practises of the German military in general, but that it was inexorably propelled by Germany's national acquire multiple colonies all over the world within a very short time, using reasons for the genocide and the subsequent ill-treatment of the Herero. the time, which generally quelled rebollions in this way. From 1871, due to a brutal military and ruthless military elite, which considered itself above the law. At the same time, it was a state with an increasingly powerful parliament goals at the time. The book will argue that the Herero genecide was linked to Germany's late entry into to the colonial race, which led it to frenetically the ideological evolution of the notion of Kuberreich, a unique institutional structure developed, resulting in Germany's rise as an authoritarian state with obserted by universal suffrage, a state been at times on counterbalancing the authoritarian elements of the constitution.

Accordance refricts of the constitution.

However, the Brithing often allowed the Kaiser and the military to conduct campaigns with little or no oversight. The state exponsed 'self-discipline,'\* a system which combined with a military culture of ruthlessness and brutality explains the willingness of German troops to carry out the killings, but it should not be mistaken for the motivation behind the genecite.

The generide was firstly meant to panish the Horeso for impudently rebelling against German colonial rule and for supposedly killing Germans during the uprising at the beginning of 1904. This rebellion, and the inability to deal with it

- On the legal chairns under international law see further Strkin, J. (1001) Colonial Conceils and Reparational Units in the 20'l Century. The Socie-Legal Context of Claims under International Law by the Howen against Generally for Generale in Nambia, 18004–1908. Westport: Praeges Security International.
  - Bittor-Potersen, H.G. (1991) The Herremold mentality in German South West Africa 1689—1914. DLat (History). Preterio. University of South Africa, 79 & 60.

quickly and effectively, dented German prestige at home and abyosal. The order for genocide was not only meant to deter any Herero survivors from further insurrection, but also to send a message to all the communities in GSWA and other colonies that rebellion in any form would not be tolerated.

Secondly, the genouide was a means to gain occupancy of Herero land and possession of their livestock. For a long time, Germany had desired more land in its favourite colony, as it wanted to expand the settlement of Germans in GSWA. Much was invested there and various measures were taken to persuade German settlers to go there. The intent was to create a new Germany in Africa. which would add prestige and honour to the Fatherland, GSWA was viewed as the most attractive of Germany's colonies, as it was relatively disease-free and there was much arable land and abundant cattle. The climate and living conditions were favourable and compared well with other parts of the Empire. The primary incentive for potential settlers would be the acquisition of farmland. Germany hoped that the premise of adequate land holdings would stem the continual migration in which settlers were opting for the United States and other countries. Still, Germany realised early on that it would not be able to deliver on this promise without peace and stability in GSWA. Land was needed not only to attract new settlers to the territory, but to appease the existing settler community, which was dissatiafied that its land holdings were too small to be economically productive (data on the sale of land at the by the indigenous groups. The settlers believed that the land ought to be emptied of these people so that settlers could establish farms. For the settlers dispossession and ethnic cleansing' occurred to permit the removal of the time have been cited as evidence). At the time the majority of land in GSWA was not owned by German companies or settlers. It was occupied and owned the Herero farmlands became a confiscation target. Benjamin Madley notes that the policy 'of tabula 1220 or "creating a map scraped smooth", to facilisate dispossession to be rationalized " From 1896, other types of land clearance or 'forced removals' followed: the land was needed for settler occupation and the authorities did their utmost to drive the Herero off it. The settlers were frustrated by Governor Theodor von Leutwein's\* more moderate policy locals and the notion of 'empty' land and unworthiness, allowed genocide and

- 7. Madley, R (2004, June) Patterns of Frontier generide 1802-1910. The aboriginal Tasmanians, the Yoki of California and the Herero of Namibia, 8 (8) Journal of General, 167-192, 168.
- Theodor Gottliff von Leutwein was Landenhaphnann from 1894 to 1898 and Governor from 1898 to 1805. Bloy, II. (1997) Social theorot in South West Africa 1898—1904. In Gifford, P. & Louis, W.M.R. (eds) Britain and Germann in Africa Imperial reals on delonate rad comment of Africa.

towards the indigenous communities and his protection, to some degree, of the needs and land of these communities. Given that GSWA operated largely as an isolated territory, Governor von Leutwein acted as the German supreme ambority!\*\* and had significant control over policy in the territory. The settlers were angry and resentful because they believed that Covernor Leutwein's policies were to their disadvantage. They criticised him and the administration vocally and openly and demanded that extreme measures be taken against the Herrer. The settlers wanted the Herero to lose their land and cattle and wished to destroy their tribal system so that they could be used as labour. The settlers consequently embarked on a vociferous campaign both within GSWA and Germany to change the policies is GSWA.



1903 posteard of Governor Leutwein with Herero group

They received support from various quarters and, when the uprising began, Germany had clearly declded to deal with the Herero community in no uncertain arms. The timing of events show that this was no coincidence, from

Blog, H. (1967) 'Social discord in Soath West Africa 1894–1905. In Gifferd, P. & Louis, W.M.R. (eds) Brains and Germany in Africa: Imperial rivalry and colonial rule. New Haven, Yale University, 607–630, 605.

1905 a conterted effort was made to attract settlers and Germany's Colonial Department established a formal colonisation policy for the territory.\*\*

The seminal influence of the German view of race, racial identity and racial superiority on the unfolding events cannot be everlooked. This book shows tow the Cermans, in their attempts to confirm their belief that their race was superior, were preoccupied with race identification and the origins of races. In addition to regarding the Herero as inferior and consequently being indifferent to their status and position, a colonial propaganda campaign in GSWA and Germany depicted the Herero as the initiators of a 'race war' during which they apparently indiscriminately killed many German settlers and mutilated their bodies. This was clearly designed to gain support to Germany for the policy that would soon be carried out by General von Trotha. He insisted all along that Germany was fighting a 'race war'." However, the truth and extent of the alleged Herero atrocities on settlers and German troops are questionable. It seems that the Herero avoided hilling women and children. 54 The alleged withspread mutilation of German corpses seems to have been mere propaganda. The Rhenish Missionary, August Kuhlman, investigated the majority of such reports and found them to be false. Even Hauptman Prancke, in a 1920 lecture, stated the allegations had no basis. While it is possible racist propaganda. It is likely that such cases were publicised to promote a racial dimension to the events in GSWA and so ensure support for the intended actions of the German troops. It does seem, though, that the abuse that there were such cases, it seems that the allegations were predominantly hands and other body parts was a method approved by the field commanders, and mutilation came mostly from the German forces. Bringing back severed sanctioned by German officials and uniformly carried out by soldiers under German control as a way of proving to their commanders that they had killed

Erithsen, C.W. ching to Yochx, R.A. (1998) "German colonialism and the South West Africa Company, 1894—1914", 30 Monographs in International Studies, Africa Serias, Albeits OH Ohio University Center for International Studies, 88.

se Schrank, G.I. (1874) German South West Africa: Social and examinit aspects of its history 1884—1915. PhD thouls (Wistory), New York University, 162.

The reality of civilian deaths was very different. On the plaque at the memorial outside the dist fests in Wookbeek to fallen Germans between 1803 and 1908, civilian assuables are fisted as 110 sees, four women and one child. Sole more that Makerers specifically forback the killing of women and children, Sole, T.E. (1905, December). The Stokwessafrina Denkamnz and the South West African campaigns of 1903-1208. 1(3) Military History Journal, 19-38. The fact that so few women and children were hilled seems to verify the policy of not killing them.

Ritter-Petersen, H.G. (1981) The Heremolk mentality in German Sash West Africa 1889–1918. DLitt (History), Pretoria University of South Africa, 900.

generale and the importus behind the Genocide Convention, notes that before the events in GSWA in 1904, mutilations practiced by soldiers against the the soldiers to bring back the cars of those they killed to prove the number killed. Lemkin writes that because the ears of women were used to increase the numbers, German commander Dominik ordered that the heads of those killed be brought back instead. The difficulty of accomplishing this led to the British government that it complained to the German Ambassador in London In 1902. The Imperial Chancellor wrote to the Governor of the Cameroons acts and cruotius towards the natives and during any necessary punitive expeditions to abstain from all habits incompatible with the civilised state, who they said they had 24 In an unpublished manuscript titled 'The Germans in Africa, " Raphael Lemkin, thought by many to be the author of the word indigenous population were sanctioned by the German officials, who ordered severing of the genitals of those hilled instead. This practice so horrified the asking for an end to this practice and 'to abstain in all instances from illegal such as the mutilation of corpses, 56

The facts fodicate that it was the Germans who killed women and children in large numbers during this time in GSWA. When August Bebel, a member of the German Parliament, was told 'unsatisfactorily' that women and children were beling killed because the combatants were using them as shields," This was met with seepticism. There was no denial that women and children were being killed. In fact, when these arrocides became known in Germany, Chancellor von Bülow demanded an explanation. Not denying the occurrences, the Chief of the General Staff, Alfred Graf von Schließen, replied that women had taken part in the fighting and were the chief insignators of the cruel and awful octures.\(^{13}\) Chancellor von Bilow, at the time recognising that problematic conduct was occurring, argued that such activity will demolish Germany's reputation among the civilised nations and feed foreign agination against us.\(^{13}\) When Chancellor von Bilow attempted at the end of 1800 to revoke

34 "Africanus" (1917) The Pranzan lash in Africa. Landons Hedder and Stoughton, 31.
32 The manuscript in 32 pages long and deals with a number of reballions and the manuscript in which they were dealt in German-recognised territories in Africa. It is to be found at the Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, the Raphael Lemkin papers, Box 6, Folder 9.

in Lembin, R. (undated) The Germans in Africa, found at the Jacob Rader Marcius Center of the American Jewsah Archives, Cincinnati, the Raphaed Lembin papers, Box 6, Fedder 9, 4c.  Bridgman, J. (1981) The revolt of the Horeron. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 46.

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 Hall, I.N. (2005). Absolute desiruction: Military culture and practices of mar in Imperial

Germany Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 64.

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German troops at a water hole prevent the Herero from accessing the water

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hadon than well the signer to one or inhumane treatment and lose more, he is by the land.

The commences and munual tensions provided fortile ground for conflict. In GSWA the pressure on the Herero was such that it would only take a spark to trigger a revolt. Of unportence is the fact that reserves for the Heyero were discussed and legislated. Being aware of these developments, the Hevery realised that their land was shrinking and fears of future land losses. were justified. For the Germans, the rebellion provided the perfect excuse and opportunity to acquire the land and rist the area of the Herero, whom they had struggled to control during the previous 15 years. The path towards an order of geneciae was further paved when German troops had difficulty quelling the 1909 Herero rebeltion. 86 That the well-trained and well-equipped European though the figure parter the actives who suppose the bire to a and all wears is and the main to seriously langual Contracted to on notice and again as PERR TRES CANTESCA SECTION SONDER SEE SECTION OF THE SECTION OF SECTION OF put in place by naid-1504 to achieve all the goals set out above specifical clearance." As Katjavivi observed, this strategy, was so successful that by 1911 the best land in south and central GSWA was in the hands of white settlers 46

## German perpetratori and Herero victims

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1 1 2000, July) Genocule Acase for the responsibility of the by attanter
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wante for leaves on and a person and double care by what means ger the erest after attendity to store Mats Deciliars acted Barner of the the property merrower the respective The about a femine a standard of a total of problem the way to go a start the seeffler in street, Germany clearly accepted the matter once and for all The Kasser's view must have been that the killing of significantly from the use of the state about In this regard men and women were trade to work for both military and civil authorities. Herero slave labour it is not a transfer of the server of sectional or bought with personal and the settlers in GSWA were not the transfer of stephens and the second terms and the state of the sertlers and the reputed mutilations of their corpses had to be avenged and that Some settlers wanted more than the saijugation of the Herero and expoused their extermination. Aithough some may have supported General von Trotha's extra the second of the cleanty changed their minds when they reasered as the terms of the parties happened Settlers happing at the second of the second was line to deal with the in a second to be rescued from their long-lamented predicament The way were than a state to send !

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- See Juni 1987 Free Land Carlo in p. T. Areks, y. Press, 1.1.

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The mauricianing that no direct evidence has been found linking the Kainer weether has been found linking the Kainer weether has been since the factor of the failed for the failed and the failed for the failed for the failed contained languages in the evidence annation of the Jews have been since found. These, along with the evidence annated in chipper three, would suggest that the Kainer played a fail grenoude than has previously been acknowledged.

# The relationship of the Herero genoxide to the Holocaust

The links between the Holomuss and the Herero genocide have been the same of some research especially in every varietism, and have been the partial. The series of surger-front the two mitther saggestions by the especially surger-front the contract of the especial of the

The following extract regarding the Holoranat also permins to the Hevero generale and elucidates further parallels.

To understand a criminal event like the Holocaust it is crucial to distinguish between the intentions, including the idealogy and voorle-view of the human beings with did the killing and file invalidation wider which the mirders were yequised. Both are evened to an understanding of the Holocaust or any other service, as the service of the annual color of the invalidation to the service of the annual color of the motives of the perpetuation, an ethology of generaled the antitalistic Beilder the motives of the perpetuation, an ethology of generaled the antitution of their motives of their perpetuation, an ethology of generaled the inspired file perpetuation, an ethology of generaled the inspired the inspired file perfectly the motives of places.

Regarding the Herero exterationation order, Suggot has noted that it was delivered in an aura of Gotthic negalomenta which decades lax, term its

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Melson R (1992) Revolution and generate On the urigins of the Armenian Genoride and the Folociant Chicago Illinois. Chicago University Press. 47

at the period of the contract of the state o to the Pathological Institute in Berlin 78 The collection of Herero skulls seems who has been blamed for starting the war, was contracted to provide a Hintory the weart of the court syndem contacts to act peat between the Obes I as [Mengeth consent to she amount and parts or new . As a standard that skin and flesh with glass. These were then sent to have taken place from 1905 when Leutemant Ralf Ziim tin same were the was subsequent and to be and more shalls and there are numerura that thousands more were shipped to Germany ' It is its increment that Zurn kept a Herero skelvion as a trophy and took it back to Germany upon his return." Other German officials and to supeads something, arrest the and a GSWA 78 Certainly skulls and corpses harvested from the concentration camps were supplied. To Doctors employed by the Comman forces (Dansauer, Jungers, CHECK ARE WERE IN PICTURED WITH SETTLEMENT AS HE ALTERNATIO (see the front - over of this book). They nen notes that

The eugenicit depictions of racial types energed smultaneously with the development of a significant coloural postered industry, in particular in the their German colony of what it now Nonebra The popularity in Germany of these posteriors, i.g., i.g., i.m., which the their propostered in Nonebra the significant of the Nonebra the size i.g., i.m., which is the posterior of the Nonebra the size i.m., i.m.,

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Herman, R. Urban space and the spectacle of progress Krachuer, Benjamin and narve her, wermar visual culture Preper presented at Coltaropole, Canadian November 16, 1, 1, 12, Studies Available at http://www.culturaistudies.ca/proceedings04-pdfs/leynen.pdf [jaccessed on 13 April 2005]



Postcard of Herero and Nama people

Thus Judy Scales-Trent has noted that

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they arrigable known (AMV an O. Dono of 2 mero, states that to \$14 and or other between the condition of the percental warmper of the 11 or other warmpers of the 11 or other parts of the percental warmpers of the 11 or other parts of the percental warmperson of the percentage of the percentage.

skulls are referred to 1s anclear, but the skulls of Africans, including those of and the proposition of the first the leave made partite was war make all too clear's Some 30 years later, in 1936, the Kaiser Wi helm institute of Anthropology in Berlin-Dahlem noted that some of its research consisted of collecting and classifying human skulls from Africa, trausing Waffen-SS doctors and conducting studies in race-crossing \*\* Which specific the Herero, were still under examination during Maza times. The collecting delicated the pertock was not a bean por tex by a gree hear that attributed to them being hybrids of the 'Negro' and the 'Onental'

Bley supported Arendt's views regarding the link between Naza policy and what occurred in the colonies, especially GSWA. 16 Jourssohn 7 addresses the same usues, clarifying in the process that many have misquoted Arendt, while Jonassahn endorses the direct links between the two eras citing the human others have linked the two periods through the use of notions such as fiseism. expertmentations, the philosophy, the tactsta and the detuals. Ractsin was dearly a prominent feature of both times. In the years of German colonial rule, locals in camps, starvation, forced labour, deportations, expropriation of property, terture and a mixed starmage law sanctioned by the Residuag, which prevented the marriages of whites and blacks. Despite the protest of liberals in the Reidsiag, all German colonies in Africa endured 'genecode, incurveration in concentration overt racasm continued until Germany was forced to surrender its colonies 68

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Kesting, R.W. 1998, Warter! Blacks under the swastika A mararch note. 53 (1) The Jaurent of Negro History 84-59, 82

gelt 9". His position strongly influenced Naz philosophy and prescrited an important motivation for the Housaust 98

the audidar retti Pau. Gilney umas attended to the conjection between these who served a the colonies and those who participated, is the Naza atro, ties 25 He asks. How many of the orthogry men an women who twe ame Hour is willing exect noners had previously served in the Czerman colonial forces or had ither experiences of Ceremany's double souther a arbone meres an Beyond ideology, Hall believes that the military acter as a crudial with detween migerialism and the Usa, soution. However, their than, was neither the sole nor the predominant connection as with her then discissed

Gann and Dugan differ from the abovementioned discourse on the link between the colonial history and the Holocaust, claiming that the argument has 'numerous weaknesses' and over-mphasises the importance of colon alam for Germany, 108 They maintain that the colonies did not just a sugarificant but in the German economy are, in the years after World War the colon as alea did not become popular 103 According to them, very few individuals were simply were in the solonial atm natration. However, Cannind Diagon acknowledge the extent to which the coones were prizes and the banefits that were saught "That these benefits were not necessarily attained does not diminish the efforts put torth to acheve them. Ultimately, not many individuals were placed a the colonies in order to save resources, but certainly considerably more resources were invested on GSWA, the favoured colony that it any of the other Continue colonies

According to crave and Du gan, the reterpretation that links colonialism and fota station sin a so overlooks diverge ices to ideology and so, ology, that ex sted at the time, arguing tha many people were not anti-litteria, against democracy or against industrial on ... sation, 1911 Firem 50, it is and spiciable that

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Gilray, P. 1958. Afterword: Not being inhuman, In Chesette B. & Marcus I. east Modernat influre and the Jets, Cambridge: Policy Press, 268

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## Methodology, terminology and definitions

While the literature on the Herero genocide has grown in recent years, much work remains to be done, especially by those directly affected. The Herero themseives ought to be doing more writing on what happened to them and the war of the receive The oral history exists. In this regard it has been noted by Erichsen in 2008 that, unlike

ony other groups that took part in this research, the Herror/Mandern respondents were able to track the direct sumpact of the war on their own families, providing both the names of people who had died and the places vakere they died "". 1 rich b. 1995. Modaley power in German colonial policy. The Schutztruppen in the learners in the Enstand South West Africa, 1888–1918. In Millingray, D. N. Ohne, D. (24d) Generalism of Empirer Pite arranged force of the colonial powers. Singular, Manchester University Persis, 102.

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Type Norman Control Herero genocide is the recognition, made in reference of the control in neglect to study attroction is extremely harmful

In some ways, the effect of this scraterin, neglect may be comparable to the disningly done by those who tarts, the Holocourt While I sin by its meets siggesting a moral equivalency between those wals, for sortious restons, ontil reference to genecule and those who actively work to mislead and reperts traffs. I am amering bat both behaviour ware work to mislead and reperts traffs, it is an amering bat bath behaviour three sortectivals smaller result. Thus is, the faither of social scientists to adequately addern the majer of generals courted.

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a wider stray of sources. A number of evewithess accounts do exist and some vict m accounts are found in the Bare Book which recorded accounts of the attractives vicini nited distring the Herrero war. \*\*\* Since the Brussia produces the Blue Book during World War I reservations about its objectively real and However the sentiments contained in the 1918 Report were already presert is a British region of 1909, which stance.

The great ann of German policy in German South West Africa, as regards the neither, it to reduce him to a state of serficion, and, where he resists, to destroy it in adoptive the resists, to destroy it in adoptive. The satistic to the German, it is a boson and nothing more. The satistic organist the derects, conducted by German Pon Trothe, was not of settlermination, than dread, man, women and children were driven titte desert owns, it wises admitted from their was there and, whose [see] left over any new now it was found in the first of the out a mirrable existence, labour to force upon them and masseally is not all nigo performed.



Herero women being torced to wash Cierman uniforms

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Today, the Merero community consists of different groupings, the Herery Hereroland West 188 Today Hereroland East forms part of the Omaheke region who live in the central region of the country and the east, the Mbanderu, also in the east, and the Hintha and I mila in the north-west in he nost, association of ethnicity and area. A The Eleveroreserves of Annuis Equik ru, Eastern, Waterberg East, Otjohorongo and Ovitoto creates by the German colonial authorities were later reconstituted into Hereroland East and and Hereroland West is the Otjozondjupa region, 19th Owamboland's name areas were named after the ething group is ing there but in 992, the new democratic geoccument of Soundson created new regions is define the colonia also changed in 1992 and it was divided into four regions, namely Oshikoto, Ohangwena, Omusati and Oslun a

a headdress that looks lake cow horns. Green and black Victorian dresses are The most familiar symbol of Herero identity today is their clothing. At their functions the men wear turn-of-the-century German soldier uniforms and Herero women dress in their long brightly coloured Victorian dresses and

183 Nguvirue, Z. (1972) Political purites and interest groups in South West Africa, Astudy gupune course PhD has Oxford I amerate

dentying the prisading the probable 40 Development and Change, Harring, S.L. (2002, Winter) German reparations to the Herera nation: An "antitured by the Towards Reconcupiton of the tand issue in Manibia 13 1 1 2 1 1

139 Malen, J.S. (1905) Peoples of Namiba Pretoria Rhino Pulkishera, 67 Firming Late Repiete, 595

assertion of Herem nationilood in the path of Namiban development? 104 West

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worn by the Ovambandern -- ed and black by the Ovaherero women and white dresses by those from Objuding we 14th Ruth First noted that Hereno women

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#### CHAPTER ONF

## AETIOLOGY OF A GENOCIDE

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#### Introduction

events between the Germans and the Herero the 'German-Nathibian War's it the first wir of ant color al resustance. It was indemnally a resistance conflict, but given the size of the force that was eventually pitted against the Herero and the type of arms and methods used against them, one can hardly Although the first few mo this of the cor flict trugt (f) the description of a war, thereafter the conflict in object a superior force turiting down its opportents The historiography of the events around the Herero genocide is subject to a great deal of controversy. The reasons why there was a war (or a rebellion) between the Herero and Germany in 190% are extensively debated. Even the Ingustics are not accepted without argument. Thus, Meiber has termed the Acknowledging that the use of the word 'Namibia only emerged in the 1960s, his preference is mot vaterd by publical reasons 4 Nev 1 e. 4 rearght has enlied classify such a one-sided affair as a war. Other terms, such as 'massacre', slangiater and annihantions seem ancre apt as would the term greated and wiping them out is, all means possible.

Another subject matter that remains unsettled is when the war or rebellion started and Enished According to Du Pisani the war occurred between 1809 Johnson, S. (2003) Peace without justice Hegemonic metability or international THE THE PARTY OF SAME PARTY OF THE PARTY OF

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that to support the Cognia is "Therefore the derice illustring of war less. Bethanic which instally redused to surfus pale for any relic adjust the and patterns with Revolucion however divised it was true and age in for and the Monare he go ere the Nama and Herero reduction agether Other refies and which ed, as adding the Bordisway of in a man made in a rather resellers by the Berger Sama and Bangs swarter he Franzinants the Red Nation and the Veldest neithingues also remitted flice with the my well, but it lers lega m no

others start by "." White others, such as Sofe by a chair the war could be even though combat continued, the state of warrare was publicly rescinded on 11 M. drever I fact the accessing a court of cause about \$40 and the dath of Jakob Morenga, .. J. mg that the way to the Cornard In tent at a the suppression of the great Herem-Nama mauriection of tion It a region by service 1908 is the end of the war berause it The one date of the war Is also subject to detail While same, any one othe green ke the franching contact brom the atman, enhanced lifting of the state of war in South West Africa until the end of March' in Thus, cent wedness he was after on a September Set. Masson notes that date I'm s." While watte groups like the Bonds was a count that fight in the in February, 1915" the troop commander stated that he was test against the

The rebellion of the Name was recognised as an anti-coonial resistance (ed) (1984) Gernan improvement of the trees to higher and to be me the beginning about a dark and had beginned by the action as by the the Hear reported to the Colon 2 Aspertance a Jameser on that it nowed all This control assert to year then ago, and the man is so both a state of the board of a section of the section movement In this regard, executing her deprive generator of about mas a feat the reduciblest with a feet to a feet to a fig. p. More better Hay W I a I CHITCH the gent of these accurred

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Shawen I F was been been stoned and some The killing of Jakob March . M. L. lourna, a routh Grace Serves . F. Ach 255 S. JHerall v ador chis S.C.

marke the last a trive camps. One 2 December 3 mon Kooper<sup>13</sup> and the camps of character strate in the camps of the camps

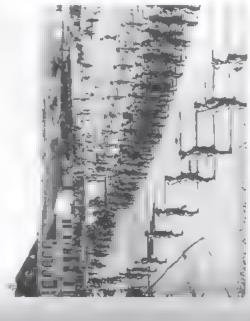
On the question as to whether it was a rebe house war one siew is that the Herero rose up in research has are to be covered configurable. For partial the sending on Commercial Licuit has "Anny shopped and a law scarced the war 19 so have considered that the conflict a configurable in the side of the configurable of Herero days the partial of a configurable of Herero was the extended Settler parameter the Herero day now in the mind of settler parameter to this view, the Herero day now into the war, but book up arms in response to actions taken against them. Melber concurs that the considered was an act of self-defence. Londofte has stated that it may be any need

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Herero Chief Kambabahira Nikodumus Kavikunas being executed on 11 Jana 1895 for treason for bis role in an uprising

Regardiess it must be remembered that his resolt uposing or war was not a thout providation and criming not an solated even<sup>20</sup>. Throughout the Creman shouse these existed a pattern of three spiral communities in microcomble conditions, which may table for the resolution of these communities against the colonial masters. Constrain, if the into interest hand early receipted entires, directon and end simply accept he yoke of the unit and main terreorit reassrud the occupation of their conditions. As Landtolk has observed "[[]] Renopean honger for power and attempt to

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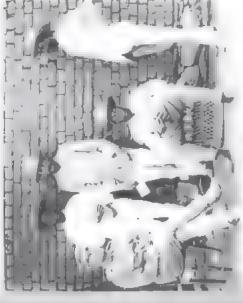
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I Tagus 1903 Leaving regards the a relie his a as is upon it and it a land or a series of the result of the formal for the series of the series of the works from his apprehensive that any horse foreign of nous any workers maurection 30 Kerna notes that on 5 January 1904, the local Germanlanguage newspaper reported. Further mobilisation seems to have become the chart that I have not be to property there is a chart and because the " ' ' ' ' ' ctc., among the captains and others " The Germans had the many states in a source that is a second larger in any Batta will at the rand of any town and of the continues are many was on the chowered one another wette remember of the energy offeren necessary Last night about 400-300 armed Heroro moved in gards - ... was have it his posts During the past week one noticed certaining the THE THE THE PARTY OF THE PARTY OF THE PARTY OF THE PARTY OF TAKEN quisting broke out there were only 770 series? - (+5% \ 4 strong 2 the county is the grant against the wealth to a record of a late of the were on police duty

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he admented dispectly 5. The settlers wanted the complete subjugation of the wanted the Herero to gradually adjust to the new structure and systems, as Heren, including military action against them, but Leutwein refused. He Colubbatt succincily describes the difference between Governor Leutwein and General von Trotha, who was

a man who believed that the bawl contaming the fish inhault be smaithed by hoavy hammer blows, rather than by the quiet withdrawal of the water, which was Lentucen's policy. 18 Of course, Leutwein did not adopt a completely benevolent attitude towards the indigenous people. While the general perception was that Leutwein was favourably inclined toward the local population, his favour simply consisted of different methods and a longer time frame to achieve the same end; that is, a German colony where Africans would mentually be subjugated. There were the when Leatwer acted harshit in fact Leuruc was a triby section (SSMA) in SOA to civil a sar raiging there. An example of his critical concent. is exulter in the Benilebwartz rebe nor which occurred in A toper 1903 Leutwein issued a ruthless decree that read

#### Detree of the Imperial Gavernor

Captain of the Bandelawarts in Warmbad and his tribe, through the wicked murder The lates of war are brought into force . A reward of 3000 marks will be granted for the head of each Bonselstrast who partook us the murder of my people of 90000 mark reward is assured for amone who brings in the head of the new chief 40 The peace tubich ruled tha land has been broken in an outrugeous manner by the of the District Chief, Lieudenant John, Sergeant Study, as well as the murder and wounding of more settlers. In this District a condition of war is therefore declared

as well as the placing of boundes " While Leutwesn received support for these measures from the aettlers, they demanded even starner measures. One settler group wrote to the government in Berlin on 1 November 1905 and demanded An expert on the territory in the Colomal Section of the Foreign Office objected to the callousness of the decree and to the use of terms such as 'wicked murder'

- Ricear-Peterson, H.G. (1991) The Herrentolk mentality in German South West Africa the se ething Governor Learneth's book, Elf-Jahr Gewerner in Deutschser, 1914, DLitt (History), Pretoria University of South Africa, 157.
- ( at 1 Ware I can become if from the contract the tegroning of the wiverenth centiles Cape over tracking is
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the total extering ration of the Homsteley artz and the use of the troops without resorate a The settlers . But and that

Thire cannot do enough in herping distinctions on the native rifficial Hendrik Hitboy [stc] and his staff, Samuel Maherera, Kajata (a special favourite) are invited to water are valued about all else by the Governeur and by the Bezoriahanphmann. and howeved towash by a gifter w

Cermany The highest military body, the Grosser Generalstab, noted: He who on the better that the settlers' views were endorsed by the military in with most and paint have not with steady, he as its which command fer und and and university and the total only against of the latitude has been and the second of the second of the second solutions of the second solutions and while meetigs ... is not evel its opnorance or the contract Kiten dignorment application from Cert any to aghin to appress a the year wishes to colonize the territory must first take the sword and wage wer of the sertlers noted

a so of a lot or so diago never by the be never been to notive in the they the The of million of Lathers of the Water of Miller mount is which only margenally reolizes what it is there for must have the aim to expropriate the nutries of part of their land in order to create furm land for furnism it must also cortail the freedom of the natives to a large extension was in non information officers is shoot that to also become in section in the tenters. Place in other in which is a post or mount in the in in in the web it is not in the first the two me then are on brongth Legit to bother a remargh betterse, to protect the natrae from being taken advantage of by the white race and they therefore act in the intrests of a r black and brown sunds. A colonial government to do Herman to the first of the first of the wife to

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- La Herera, water of a meluding Kambazembi, Muretti, Tjetpo and Are recent Some argue that Materens was the supreme leader, although many dapate this

Governor\*? As early as 1896, the Herero were anxious about which veports reached the hause for them. At that time, the Herero did not think of Governor Loutwea as particularly sympathetic towards them, authough this changed some years later.

the term of the states of the states the Governor and the GSWA at the states of the st

THE NECTRIBUSION OF the Bondelswartz and the use of the troops to those Already by November 1908, following the Bondelswartz uprising, the settlers Manned Leutwein and demanded his repiacement by a general from actor for them Leutwein had useated. The Allgemeine Zeitung , Harbord indignant yelps and ensured their undying opposition who are any such tames to the set of and a new decision and their Dearther grays are to the Born, and that their minute in Paul Leutwein, the son of the Governor noted that an 31 December I a state that two weeks before the supposed uprising, the settlers held a the trailines Start May seement the relations to the territory att article to this effect on 12 November 1903.50 The settiers were annual to gain control over the entire territory using committee, the committee of smiles , my while they his conservational anguaranchy personals not they they wild in An Leadwell was not to awriter one construction of the alternation He did not suswer to the military or the Kaiser Leutwein ignored the settlers' The trees cut them II bear sheap hand and nor arringer date a livery 13 Gordan 3 P. Ch. Basser were systemate long with My of the WE bers forces in GSWA, he controlled both the divitan and military decisions there

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1 1 1 (1998) Herry larger A extito-political lattices of the Herry of Nomitta 1890-1993. Oxford James Currey, 186.

meeting where, in his words, in a flery speech one of the oldest Afrikaners, the Haptmann  $\times$  Francoin, called for a general razzia against the Herero  $^{38}$ 

the time, als scenario the pressure from the white ecties community and the potency illustrated by the Herero war <sup>53</sup> At the time, many calls for the externination of the Herero were made both in GSWA and Germany, in meetings in various journals, books and newspapers. One newspaper called for the deponit of a large of the control of restoring authority.

the extent to which the petities wought the blood of the Horein and the public execution of rebels in Whindhoes, where it is also to what the public execution of rebels in Whindhoes, where it is also to the second of the secon

Dec. 6, the pressure of the settlers to deal harshy with the Herem and the learnest 1. Learnest was the learnest to deal harshy with the Herem and the learnest 1. Learnest with the Prepared to accept a second-class or second roles or second as a second-class or second roles, about Leatwell's appear a second class or second freedom to the African population. I Mar 1, in a Message we can remarked on Leatwell's relationship with the second second or Leatwell's relationship with the second second and the relief of the second plant, it was to popular with the Revero and the relief Natives, he keep second and the relief Natives, he keep second and the relief Natives.

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them and is just towards them "OB Leutwein's contention that 'colonial policy should not be conducted in the manner of a Tartar Isham, with blood and men not were noteen a net of the historic customs of local inhabitizans was intomprehensible to the settlers. Or They 'demanded has Leanwein et a na some it as a men in a settlers. Or They 'demanded has Leanwein et a na serie in a settlers and a set in a point, what we lid in a make the settlers the masters over the Africans.



Pogrand of Chief Samuel Mahrrero

Optioulited to, Berlin was aware of the economic revalries between the section in local communities for land and brescock. Due to the terminal sections pays if awar, Lewwon did not regard the settlers' ungent drive to improve the events of pays to the local communities when he are sections as a section to the local communities of the health of the local communities of the health was the section of the events of the local communities.



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directly, on a report that he received from Chancellor Bulow in 1903, that the general staff of the army ought to be given the right and freedom to conduct operations without being hampered by considerations of the fereign office or the Chancellor <sup>618</sup> Only after the war broke out: 1 line to a relative or releved of his command, because during wartime the responsibility for the relative pell indeed the Masser and the miniary. <sup>618</sup> U min. The state of the state of the miniary of the miniary of the miniary of the miniary of the miniary.

The (e rate is contained at his tage three) at the librory tright months again (e rated) is care about a contained by the German government. Even before Von Trotha an even a sink of all lebrero men was apparently in place. At some point, they the larger is a numerical was faint at a contained was earth at the military cature, they genoodle would have been perpetrated in all German colonies. Despite the prevalence of vollent conduct in many colonies and other occasions of mass murders, only GSWA was subjected to internional genorale. The policy, if not specifically directed by the authorities, was tolerated by the military, the government and the Reichstag.

This chapter evaluates the reasons why the Germans used genockle to quell the Herror erbellion. It shows that the Herror uprising stemmed from a reaction to what was happening in the territory and was continuo to reasistance movements elsewhere where the colonalusis attempted to expel natural nabrigants from their land. In these instances the colonal response while often similarily ruthless, was not primarily aimed at clearing, and for settler unhabitation and did not evidence the intent to eradicate entire groups.

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Figure and a true comportuation and trust particular Lover day (C.) are fine and true of the second true of the comportual of the comportu

White true generally, it is also true that there were others as the left that did not subscribe to this eufture.

 .v. the extent to which Germany adopted various strategies to attract more settlers to the territory to make it more peaceful and give or sell land cheaply in these would-be pioneers.

## The importance of GSWA to Germany

Any analysis of genocidal are, to be take the season as a district season as a quara. Also applies to the processor of the season as a district as a season and the season as the season

The Herero-Curman war occurred he was it if a first and treasons, tose up to stop the disposessment; and the action is a superior of the second war and the second second

### Creating a new Germany in Africa

During Germanys colonial era, the coure is wished to create a 'new Germany' training to a second establish new homes to create a wind to space a spand "0 At the end of the interention of a second eraphy of the interesting the colonial and a second eraphy of the creates and the colonial and the

88 See further Sarkin, J. (2009) Colonial Generals and Reparational Claims in the 29th Century. The Sucus-Ligal Context of Causa under International Law by 1 " and approximal Certainty for Generale in Namitha, 1504-1508. Westport Praeget's: 11.

No was a reason through the advanced of the origins of the demonan generale through through the sees, 51

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1889, it reached 250100.3 It has been estimated that in the century before World Wark tyan them million Cermans emigrated from their homedated.3 Between

Although the emigration numbers began to fall after to a twist at that the year twist as a way. In the carena was a light of the transfer of the season, in the carena was a ferrently sought ways of redirecting this outflow. They wanted Germans to step within the home territories and since GSWA was regarded as one of its most attractive colonies, the Germany would hopefully address both the rapid population growth and the problem of enigration. Despute Germany's the rapid population growth and the problem of enigration. Despute Germany's eggerness, few were interested in settling in GSWA. "They were reluctant to move to an unstable region with little infrastructure. Consequently, Germany actively had to find ways to make this prospect more appealing.

One of the driving factors behind German colonia, an was the source of the driving factors behind German colonia, an interest that could also the colonies, the plan for a new German settlement was an ever-acronger rationale. The colonies, the plan for a new German settlement was an ever-acronger rationale. The colonies provided a venue and the opportunity to save the worthy aspects of the old system. Waither notes that a secund Germany would serve as a for the disastisfaction over the "incompleteness" of German unification and the disastisfaction over the "incompleteness" of German unification. The penelits of German settlement in the colonies complemented each other. Thus, from early on the idea of settlement montwitted Germanny to join the

11 1. 12. 13. 14. 15. 15. November) Germany stradewith her colonius, 1981 1. 15. 15. 16. 16. 16. 16. 18. 3.

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Stocker, H. (ed) (1986) German imperation in Africa. From the beginnings with the Strong Board War London C Hurst & Co. 49.

race for the colonies. 85 April 1890 a Colonial Office had been established in

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or Cain, LH & Dugon P (1977) The ruler of German Africa 1984–1914. Stanford Stanford Linkersky Press, 149

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Debold, L., Engelhardt, S. & Iskenus, D. 2004. December) Facing the past to thereate the luture. Cotomas Africa in the German mind. of Humaniy is driven Reports of the 2004 bellows in Demonsk, Germany and the Netherlands. New York,

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CSMILLY JURIC for softeement in van fl. chamman, His III is in In the residence the fertiles of the particle than the Chring explored the possibilities for agriculture. He wrote a very positive and optimistic report, considered one of the most influential, recommending that dams be built to assist such endeavours. In his report, Criting extulled the virtues of Hereroland over other parts of GSWA. Critically. Kienetz ixous that I wanted a former of the properties of the area and despectable har of Hereround 10

1 -- 887 the Countal Society also investigated the possis . 1 . 1 . 1 . 1 . 1 . 1 . 1. even f at would seldom be navessary to work as hard as in Europe'94 The Renchstag supported this, stating in 1899 that the territory was of great value nerd near Their report was positive as well, citing that the idina, and healthy for Europeans and would allow a European to do strenuous work, for settlement purposes 85

was that the Coeman Commingen were the former as the are were for The managedist of miteracent SWA and Corners senting dates creating a new United German Nation because of its favourable conditions and dunate. As the territory because more attractive, the number of settlers increased, as did the need for land 80

wark he conglibute to little or no notes. Thence the passed industrial CONTRACTOR OF A April 28 - Medition months after it. Beat Contention has content to trade, in that the Contents a reals agent land for of the same of and definitely translaged the same So important was the and issue that the German South West Africa

a tarra is GSWA began, which quickly dominated trade in the territory and res 1 he GSWA Company taking over the land acquired by Lüderitz

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14 wever to the time the German Colonial Company already regarded (151) to our tree y A resolution was passed that stated

the colony in the right direction and to white for the man and the line and valuable German dependencies. Octores, 19 19 19 19 19 19 dimate and the available unenhabited a in more I in it is a more in man the help of the sturd of Cornon enterprise? . " .. .. .. . It I may ill as a direction of a compatible water to the train of the That this meeting regards the Cales, at Voor to the tree and the terms 1 . 4 . 430.0 m h . h the establishment of an organised ad " " " " " " " " " " " secure to German influence its decis " . . . . . . .

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# In 1893, it was noted in the Deutsche Kolonisleritung that

German South West Africa to the only one among our colouses that appears natable to satisfy one of the main demands of the evestors of Germany's colousal movement, namely to passess our sown onerseas territories that are partially capable of absorbing the current of German emigration. We

At the same time German interests, especially from the business sector grew sufficiently so that, by 1899, pressure on the Chancillor to remain in the territory and enhance its military forces was growing <sup>105</sup> in 1895, he claimed, in the Rendalag, with respect to GSWA. Now it is ours, German territory and it is the reletters.

However, all was not get plan on arrangement with 15 1 structures to other CANA Con pany tentered into an arrangement with 15 1 structurers to other as a last transfer to the characteristic to the German Chair, the characteristic and provides the body of the structure of the Great Chair, the characteristic and provides a last provides and pr

On y from 1896 did the economy of the colong shift fundamentally tow, risk or main in by German Emances, German capital, start is the John also been the bank and the pole along or the Herers or et cover that back here been been been as an entire been the USA for reparations for the John with the bank of the back of the last force and over the last few years about the last few years about the last few years about the last few years.

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SOUND CHARGE AND THESE CHARGE IMPERIALISMS. From the beginnings until the November 1 and 1

J. Colonial Genorale and Heparationa Claims in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: The socia-Legal Contest of Claims under International Leav by the sterein against Germany for Genorale in Nanthia, 1904–1908 Westport, Praegas Security International.

Discorte-Cetelischaft came to GSWA 112 At this point, the need to achieve discussed but to be disputed with 11 1 terms of age placed in the the statement by the Koleman va. , 121 / 1895, which read Regarding 11 pt 1 at 11 st a l The Dentsch Sudventafrikansche Zeitung of event and force the lucal anabitants to accept German rule became THE LINE AND possess the busk of the land in the analysis and all cities in the Re ... echoed this sentiment in 1900, remarking "Thousands of it. ... two numbers of thousands of square kilometres of free land more for the where Mercy are to either an prople who contribute to culture, more people who enjoy a result. This remark corresponded to a well than the as a fight than of the view sight of the as a second an the section of agraining areas. These three comments support the in about the file with against the Herero was an intentional strategy the German Color 1 is a color was the first began that they Speciely 1864, Major to Pray to Co. ee fanuary 1901 was also unambiguous

"The tand, of course must be transferred from the hands of the natives to those of the winter, this is the opport of relevantation in the terribor. The land that be as the course in a direct must give way and either become servants of the after or. It, is,

#### Protecting their investments

The importance of GSWA to Germany is evidenced by the huge stans of moneyn invested in the territory by way of subsidies and administrative expenses,  $^{18}$  The

se 11 . (1986) German imperatum in Africa. From the beginnings until the have 11 Har Landon C Burst & Co, 44.

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10 Eveleigh, W. (19.5) South-West Africa Cape Town Master V. D. Am.

subsidies Germany gave to GSWA for exceeded those given to its other African old, as ""? Be weet the analytic for any allowing the second of the second of manalytic control of the second of manalytic for any and the second of resources and unvarients over the name period for a second of resources and unvarients over the name period for a second of resources and unvarients over the name period for a second of the second

The high number of armed forces Germany sent to the territory further evidences the extra attention it gave to the protection of GSWA as a national asset. In .500, there were 772 German troops in GSWA for a population of about 200 000, whereas East Africa, with a properties of a -ii in infractived 500 troops and Cameroon, with a properties of a -ii in infractived 500 troops and Cameroon, with a properties of a -ii in infractional and a formation of a -ii in the greatest maders, it froops in Africa were found in GSWA, of the total if 461 troops, 2 900 were stationed in GSWA <sup>127</sup> When the racial breakdown of troops is considered, the discrepancy is even more apparent in 1914, 1954 of the 2 411 white troops

not later the generous subsidies became problematic in the context of the profits made by various companies there. From 1907, the German Colon a Samera of the major of the ma

the Savand World War London C. Hurst & Co. 191 Stoecker also includes the figures for two non-African colonus. Knochow got 174 militon marks and Samoa 1 s million.

Cornel of Schright From Appendix F. The races of German Hern, 1984-1994 Starbing Starbing Starbing Schrieber Schrieber Starbing S

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in all German colomes were stationed in GSWA <sup>166</sup> The Germans did not want African troups in G-SWA, <sup>180</sup> as they 'were convinced that only white soldlers could effectively defend the white presence <sup>180</sup> Furthermore, soldlers regarded GSWA as a prante posting and as a result troops stauoned there were fortised to sign up for lunger periodic A soldlers stem in GSWA was three and a half years, as companed to two years in West street.

# Removing obstacles and luring potential settlers

The need for peare and stabil t

The engoing conflict that permeated the territory worked against emigration from Germany Conflict had racked the area for as long as the Germans had been there and Stoecker corroborated that the continuing wars inhibited manuscripte the effect of peace and stability. It this a car is a way to be the great matter of the Good of the attribute of the land holdings. Yet the origoning conflict made the territers and an all principles settlers By 1904, the German government was act on at real and contract my that others that and not pass the country at some a train to a box south at terribut states of one he as that a sheet on be quant Cerman settlement in the colony of As a result, it with an tire a was little or a find a transfer to the transfer as the a had been as a star of the goal pot the while the best of the and the fire of the ten distress the price of the ten to be explored to the same of the House of white he selection than appear a factor of a contract of a mil were divided the best final and place of the structure of

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England Athena, Ohio Ohio University Press, i altong them A is a strong transfer of its a

at the same time increasing white aettler numbers. 136 Professor Moritz Bonn. Durector of the German Colomal School also recognised this and, in the address to the Royal Colonal Institute on German Colonial Policy in water

native rising, consing the loss of much breasure and many lives. We tried to unwine to extremes the functions of Providence and twe tried to exterminate a native race when our last of windom had goaded into rebellon. We inoceeded in breaking up the native tribes, but we have not jet inoceeted in creating a new Germany. <sup>137</sup> We wanted to concentrate on Africa the enugrants we were losing as the beginning of the colonial enterprise We wanted to build up on African soil a new Germany und create daughter states as you have dane in Australia und in Canada. We carried this idea to its bitter end. We trud it in South-West Africa and produced a huge

Whitelian werds taltern agen, reading a think and and also attributes the end of the pre-war stability not to the government, but rather the war, the period immediately prior to the was sets drawer to the in to the settiers 148

### Altracting German settlers to GSWA

with appealing portrayale of the territory Hence, a civil servant, Clara Blockmann, 139 went to GSWA to write travel books to persuade Germans to Developing GSWA as an attractive colony for German sertler immigration required various entitiement strategies. Potential immigrants were lured settle there 140 Germany also had to ensure that there would be German women to cohabit and marry white male aettlers and so it introduced a programme

- ss Wildenthal, L. (1996) 'She is the victor Bourgeois women, minoralist identities and the ideal of the independent women farmers in German South West Africa It I ... to est Nove - culture and the state in Germany 1870-1930. Ann Arthour for part, of Mathematical and a fe
- S. Ber J. ers erer in to Finter The wither type to its instance for r Joh h. is Miler pract strains down in property of the spines Ha equit 5 der partie Pastalle Souta Arst Mina beer abe Line riginal D in a Mark and against the Hallan at Magalore
- Benefit & Branchill Agents of the State of t farmers to Cerman South West Africa. In Eley, G. (ed.) Society, adding and the state Howard was wife to The Corners and when of her the was all it is not nomal in South Heat Africa, is Quoted it Wiles and it is a second Bourgeous women, pationalist identities and the control of the con ar Germany 1870-1930. Ann Arbour University of Michigan 371-95, 374 11 + Mill Fater Mills Meeter 3 1631 Proce 4 6 F.

In Eley, G (ed) Society, culture and the clote in Germany 1870-1880. Ann Arkmir W. Jert, J., L. (1936) 'She is the victor Beargeois women, nationalist identities and the least the independent women farmers in German South Work Africa. University of Michigan, 371-25, 371

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to GSWA The coloral at that this . Will my division after the demanding the establish and demanding the and the angle of certain emps and frum Son a process to be stock in to were a section Other areasures to have recent ended the issuing of numerous and make GSWA agran Took is the first that the section in the sect ar sprome, well is a far parties a true and er Blockfatt at tower to attempt because will to the a she had to the any one to a cope to the transfer of the total ordinames from 89. I was very to to the control of the age of the last of the less than the Secretary of the fact of the of 100 000 marks was all nate for softlers and and a softler we want we was the rate of the present to place a substitute of

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matter of years' 148 This was clear to many and even the Rhentsh Missionary society related what was to occur and demanded the establishment of Reverse reserves that woold be than a me.

To some extem, Germany's strategies were successful More Germans settied in GSWA than in any other German colony, even the Pacific <sup>150</sup> Although German territory in South West and East Africa was approximately the same size, the GSWA settler population was more than double that of East Africa, teefold more than that of Camericon and a hundretifold more than that of Togo <sup>154</sup> in 1891 there were only 810 Germans in GSWA, but by 1903 there were 2,908 Germans and a white population of 4,640 <sup>102</sup> Between 1897 and 1903, the number of white farmers trelked. This huge increase it settlement from the mid-1908, compounded by the fact that no more land was available anong the realway, resulted in a great deal of pressure for more land.

Germany feared that Afrikaners and Cape colomal sta might move to the area and in the process subsume valuable resources and land. In 1890, Chanceller Otto-von Bannarck, who had it and it are subsumed in the net as a contract, and it are way to a prine was to a present the subsumers.

The question of the settlement of the protectorste through immigrants is if he is a set of the settlement of the protectorste through immigrants of the set of the se

To affect this 'speedy settlement' the colonial authorities introduced policies allowing soldlers to acquire farms in GSWA. It is not surprising that these

- IN Stoecher, H. 1ed. (1958) German importations in dyrica. From the beginnings until the Social of order 18 r London: C. Hurst & Co. 48–50.
- 100 Heat, 50.
  A. & Carn, J. H. (1987) "Marginal colon-alternt: The German cuse", 1-17. In Knoll A.J. & Cann, J. H. (eds) Greenan in the traject. Errays in German calonal history. New York Candidi Greenwood Press, 1-17, 2
- Other whites included English and Afrikanera.
- 14 Stocker, H. (ed) (1986) German imperialism in Africa. From the beginnings until the Sconi, World Har London: C. Hirst & Co. 49
- 448 Kurilich, U. (2002) Die Geschichte der desuningen Koloure Deutsch-Söchweitigries (1888-1894-Einer Gesundaufstlung) est, Frankfurt am Main Peter Lang, to Outsch. In: Withher. D. J. (2002). Creating German abroad: Cultural policies and
- na Quoted in Walther, D.J. (2002) Creding German shroud: Cultural policies and in man in cone in Nanton When UT. Object verset Press.

background must have contributed in it is a sit of a time in the sit and a sit of a military solution to the land arollem

To make land acquisition more attractive, the price set for sakes of land to a part of the same and t

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At the same time, the settlers on the actions on place a carried and the second of decontent was it. The tree to the course of decontent was it. The tree to the allocated holdings they had to pay for Certainly, one of their printing applications was to get free late, without having to raise loans, Public in setting and the major to the settle and th

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arguing that newcomers would not be able to cape with the challenges that would have them. In author task in Rev. to the saw this as a reterrent to potential cettlers are most receders. But the typeware to party the local section continuous in 1882 the Comma. Society, noted in a report that has a preference or CSWA was to provide free and "The soil need the tasking of Herero here, and "The soil need the action of the action of the ference need, any in the taking of Herero need, any that here proving sense of insecturity.

Single devices by the actitional commission addressed the broader issues of attracting and assisting more German settlers. The commission's overall recommendation was that more work was needed to create an appealing testination to these consucering settling in the certificial and in the colony from the testination. Frederic fit is at after a ment, and the most important tasks of the colonia, a spruter track after a monet, and a second second second action to the feet in the most important tasks of the colonia, a spruter track after in breater to a sec George a South West Wire a consigner of action in GSWA wrote.

Hiberest has seen the country knows that a German new land can be created here, such an ortice publishing.

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Leaft has over a pipel to give a land to give a force to the country latter not too distant father, may be greet in this country. In the not too distant father, may be come south Africa biasoon into such a least that is a blessing to itself and the Modification 180.

### Reasons for targeting the Herero and Nama land holdings

Part of the vision of GSWA as the new German home outside Europe entained the development of it as an agricultural site, <sup>184</sup> The Germans were mantly interested in the southern and central parts of Namibia, occupied by the Herero and the Nama Thu land was suitable for agriculture and the Germans thought the Hercro had the best and cheapest land for genzing, <sup>185</sup> The northern parts, occupied by the Owambo, were less attractive because of the low rainfall, <sup>185</sup>

Rater-Petersen, H.G. (1991) The Herremodil mentality in German South West Africa.
 21.1 D. H. Stein. Protocol. J. Invenity of South Africa, 93

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The Hunba, Karapac and Ownston escaped land seizures Suzman, J. (2009)
Missorites as ungeren Namina London Minority Regits Group International. 7
Missorites as ungeren Namina London Minority Regits Group International. 7

In addition the factor is their git the time had communed to resemble and the factoring of the region, the second of the second of the because the Owambo territory was it is soly sopulated the engineers the gitting and be the difficult to only of militarity.

Have, at led out conquering the then has most suitable but also because it is a few a headast her land was most suitable but also because my at readed the a gest octan artially, the Herero held about 18 in flow heart as Dictoratorial Esisters of second below gives a breakdown of the more than the marketics and a "the table below gives a breakdown of the more than a million heart as a few and more than a marketic and a figure as a preakdown of the more than a million heart as a few and a few

Table 1 ft Land ownership by indigenous peoples to GSWA in 1913

GROUP	HECTARES (PER MILLION)
Derem	10
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Rehabath Sasters	5H
Berhande (Matun)	71
Withous (Nama)	71
Veldschoendragers Namu)	1.5
herselv H. tent is Nava	9.
Sign You net North	0.1
he d Nation Nation	* *
PRION SHARES	,

As can be seen, with the exception of the Owambo, the Herero and the Nation groups held most of the land. The Germans were not equally interested in or threatened by the Nama: they were relatively few in number, their land was in the south and they had fewer cattle. Yer, they did use the Bondelswartz/Nama upxising in 1904 as a pretext to occupy and take possession of Namaland. Althoughthe Nama were britally punished and their numbers drastically reduced by the killings, they were non systematically exterminated like the Herero.

Martine W. 19. March A. a. thatara a and dispersioner a National a Chamber of Marine at the way Marine T.

to Figure Sirver Dardson 1 See Some Her From Some to Pourte of contently and change Ohannesburg Jonathan [33], 36

Bus Scoecker, H. (ed) (1988) German imperation in Africa: Fron the beginnings until the Second World War London C. Hurst & Co. 59.



Mana soldien beng executed at Gibeon in 1905 with women and rhildren spectators

The difference in the treatment moted out to the two groups relates primarily to the comparative desirability of their fand. It is also hypothesised that the Nama were spaned because they apparently did not mutilate the bodies of dead. German soldiers, as the Herero were alleged to have done. To

### Strategies to obtain land for settlement and livestock

From the 1890s onward, discussions brewed in Germany on how to transfer the land in GSWA to the settlers <sup>171</sup> In 1890, Pan. Robritach, previously referred to apropos the link between the Herero genouse and the Holosaphy, emphasised this desire for the land and the philosophy, prevalent at the time

The dension to colonies in South-Feet Africa could after all moon nothing else but this namely, that the native tribes would have to give up their tands on which they

- 70 Bull, J.V. (2005) Absolve destructone. Military culture and practices of war in Imperial Germany. Phacs. Cornell University Press., 67.
- Stoocker, E. (ed.) (1986) German imperialism in Africa: From the biginungs until the
  require Harli Wor London: C. Horest & Co. 48

Mad previously grazed their stock in urder that the white man might have the land for the grazing of firek. By no argument whiteever can it be sharen that the is a degree of attention independence, national property and pottern in the races of South-west afficial, would be of greater or of son equal to make a decelopment of mankind in graveral or of the German pooffer in poursement in the abuning of mentioned in the experience of their former.

Robritat his views were neether isolated no extreme. In fact, he was held in such high regard that he was appointed a member of the commission established to determine compensation for those whites who had suffered damage during the war. Formal policy reflected dishis traine to get the land.

### Acquiring settler land from the tocals

The short of the return employed transport methods to acquire land and control (25M ) for a control of the part is

- and and 1894 protection treaties and purchases were used,
- From 1894 to 1900-4 increasing multiary and bureaucratic control were versible appl.
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there are allegations that Maherero was pited with alcohol before signing land ase documents 179 A friend of Maherero teatified to this

I knew Sumuel well, he was very find of liquor and the Girman hepi him with supplied. He wood to get cases of rum and broady. Samuel was afraid of his life. He told me that he Germann made him drock and get him to sign papers. He was nothing of and for which he was torry afterwards. Samuel, in his better movemen, britarly complained of how the Germans had taken advantage of his resulture.

Other times, local leadurs did not realise that land was being sold and not merely lent Samuel Kutako's statement below confirms this

Under the Hersto law the ground belonged to the tribe in common and not even the chief could sell or stayone uf it. He could gree people permission to tree on the land, but no rules twee void of and no chief rever alrenghed to silf his people's lunar. Even the missionerare who selled smonged is, only god permission to the fiber. Land was never rold to Germans or anyone else. We did not have vany uden of such a thing. 178 In the initial stage, between 1884 and 1884, land acquisition involved purchases and the offering of protection to the inhabitants in exchange for land. The Germans were not imitarily strong enough at the time to attain the land they wanted and had, therefore, to rely on a system of friendship creaties and sales. However, during the first decade of German advancement, the Herero technically did not sell any land to them, <sup>180</sup> as their land was communal and the chiefs were merely the custodians of the land and rost authorised to sell it.

Apparently a onto was also need to coax varias chief see Mether II, 1984, I albane that a not the language Dr. Dr. Landgeschifte des Met Laurentz and the Tracklam and "19 stars surveyent has been been being that and the methanism of promotion and the language of the methanism of promotion and the see of the case of the methanism of the case of the methanism of the case of the methanism of the case o

Cowalta, J.B. & Salvester, J. (2003) World connot be found. German, oftends in Nomibia. An annolated reprint of the 1818 Blue Book Leeden, Brill. 11.

178 Contained in the Blue Book and Found in Oewald, J.-B. & Silvester, J (2000) Fords cannot be found. German caloniel rule in Namina. An annotated reprint of the 1918 Blue Front. [contem: 1810].

a har ive. P. 1989) I trinor of remaine in Sambia Paris London Addis Stuba (NFSCO) is

. Dreakast It last Let us de fighting The stringgle of the Herric and Nama algument the terminan imperialism (1884-1815) (Bernd Züllner, trainst). London Zed Person.

I've ermens formed a land-settlement syndicate and in 1899 the syndicate role is not see to large structures of land. The German authorities did not agree to it the in the electron which it is unable to defend such a grant to infigurate groups and so the large that land. When Captain von François realed that agents of the syndicate were taking land anyway and facting recklosally, he requested Berlin suspend the work of the syndicate. The request was refused, but Berlin, old the syndicate to confine its land acquisition to the areas around Windhool; (at reast for the time being).

Natural disasters, and up the Herero and welfing the Gorman.

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The years lator the literare Cournations where a in the Atenno.

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Hences also to resist focus a formance of laterare reports in alloca, typhond and locust plagues smoothed the path of Certman robound development.

But assisted the enlonisers in subjugating the local population.

Suring the tuderpest epidemic, the German colonial administration enforced culling and implemented a programme of varieting the local population.

This concern is the resistance of the resistance of the laterary and the path of contains a smiller than the laterary and the properties of the path of the path of the path is a proved to was the laterary at the provided to the path provided that proved mast the laterary at the state of the provided mast the laterary and that the laterary and the path of the provided mast the laterary and the path of the provided mast the laterary and the provided path provided the path provided the path provided the path provided the path of the path provided the path of the path of the path provided the path of the

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Prior to the epidemic, the Herero were largely able to resurt German expansion, but these disasters irrevocably changed the economic balance <sup>187</sup>. The rinderpest decimated many of the Herero's livesticel, while the settlers only lost about half their bereks, as they had been incoulated. <sup>188</sup> The export figures cilustrate the value of cartle to the sconomy in 1901 they yielded 190 925 marks in 1902, 1029 637 marks and in 1903, 2337 892 marks. <sup>189</sup> Even better revenues were expected as the Anglo-Boer War resulted in cattle losses in the Cape, Transvanl and Orange Free Strie



### Herers caule being confiscated

- 15" Directaler, H. (1980) Let us die fighting: The struggle of the Herero and Namo 15 Corne II nipe a. 15 Not A. Herna Keliner, transi) London Led 17 Notes
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#### Setting the Herera Irrestorit

Having acquired land, the settlers desporately needed animals for breading and transport. Facility and the part is had

"In the District of the new properties was the supply of the stock on the supply of the stock of the stock of the supply of the stock of the supply of the s

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is, it is to be traders frot of all before they could become farmers. When public objunion in Germany, on the authored of the 1904 rebellion, sharply criticised the excess

The river Market with the second party as the Harring reservoir second second party as the Harring reservoir second second party second second party second second

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of the trades, no one in the country wanted to admit ever having been a mader and energone had always been a farmer ands. 185

on the Herero and the other tribes to trade or sell. One such manocurre was to a German farmer If the fine was not paid, which often happened as the indigenous population did not have access to currency, the cattle would be in naily, the settlers attempted to get access to the locals' sheep and cattle it prough purchases and trades Lator, other strategies were used to put pressure introducing a law that fixed people if their cattle trespassed on land belonging continuated "Frew tress Samuel hataking tea.

The next manns for our rebellon was the appropriation of Herrin lands by the They used to shoot our dogs if they trespassed on these lands and they confricated any of our castile which mught itray there if holy caille trapersed we were allawed to get Insders, who took the ground for their farms and claimed it as their private property. them back, if we paid three to four ordinary calife in exchange for only one 193

reason for the Herer recold to a phort of the stoggans of the Herero women during the war to excourage their warriers, they chanted, 'Whose land is This statement speaks for itself. However, Kutako's assertion that land was a Hererchand? Hereroland is our land, 180

population was given access to credit to buy arimals and other products, but reasyment was often demanded on short notice and profited high interest rates. If they could not pas, the relatified. Land were confiscated. On the me hand, Leutwein tried to treat do any geness, appulation into a but at the other he knew he had to familiate the transfer of land and cattle into the hands of the settlers 197 He describes Herero war fever' resulting from a misunderstood Another appropriation strategy was the system of credit. The incas agreement that involved the confiscation of their cattle

the interior user threatened and had to take hurried flight. As characteristic. I and war fever extended throughout the entire Protectorate. The white traders in (A) desartings was taken in the beginning of 1886, when a force water Major Mueller took away several thousands of eattle belonging to Hereros at Beusis and Arus, Only then did the significance of the agreement become clear to the Hereron. Excitoment

an Quarted in Grewald, J-B. & Silvester, J. (2000): If one manthe famili. Common culonia. . Frank P & Sheer R 11x The Lambar Hepart As 12 Louis Millerity rule in Namibia. An annotated reprint of the 23 x Bine isom Lastien He !! 43 Rights orderly Internal, no 4.

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100 000 at the beginning of the 1890s, the German stocks stood at about 45 0001 -- most of which they bought or confiscated from the Herero. 200. The ever anneally a little war Newley points are that the Herica ang ign Cattle also conterved wealth product and profite a ment by by their and Dr. Hoger the Reverend ble they ad that to block what chier mitt was the mercase I presentate in his forces to the Here-By 1902, Herero cattle stocks stood at just mer Hilliam from alm the couply an economy piew. For Mrich peakants cuttle torne, meconily positical and economic system" of The sales forced many Herero to tone Jobs 2003 According to Gann and Duigan, 'the ravages of rinderpest, brutalities loss of the coartle had a premouse or and joining of effects or the Horein Bull D Home religionarism relicions where they of the Whitma one Charles va Consider concess the assisted at which peasure and so pile as mere if wearth or this protail poor if a loanlex and introcess so pa contains on rather stal were for an leather mastgrapher man. o terms of nambers, for any get sattle-heep of Rep Consideration are so I caft that European grade they adheus anderman start own weach.

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Control 1 & Dungar. P. . The rule sof German Herra 1888 1944 Sea bord Stanford University Press, 174

inflicted on Africans by individual Germans, a pervasive sense of inscentify the forfeiture of land and the tear of future deprivations — all combined to produce an explosion 2003

#### P. Marting to The gara II

The formulation of a formal policy for the colonisation of the territory by the Colonial Department in Berlin in 1963<sup>903</sup> signifies that the primary interest of Germany in that period was the fittine settlement of the area. However, the process of acquiring land for the new settlers was hampered by the general reluctance of the indigmous people, as well as existing companies, to sell their land.

By the 1890s, various concession companies held huge parcels of land, which they were heatent to let go of the These companies managed the process of sent at a soft factor and teachers and the soft factor and soft factor and the soft factor and the soft factor and soft factor and soft factor and fac

Further protections to assuct German settlers included the introduction of stand-control system by the German colonial administration, which ensured

sw. Bod. See also Okanaky, T.P. (1983). The 1880–9: rinderprest epidents also fine reconstructed accordance and German colonablem in Eastern and Southern Atria. S. Junear of Africa Studies, 91–9.

S. Voelle, R.A. (1938) German colontalism and the South Hat Africe Computy, 4834–1814, Allies in Aparliand—Western capitalism in occupied Nonthur Monographs in International Studies, Africa Series No. 50. Athena. Ohio Ohio University Centerfor International Studies, 86.

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greater access to land by German settlers than by anyone else, non-Germans had to pay higher prizes for land. This kept the price of land for German set or a law and the capter of land for the market are as a law and the marke

be some attention of many or one of the state of By the tillet the test of the total of a little to the the the second of the second of the second on the Called & also gater attention betiger or father as to no les by a started strategy to gain land and cattle from the Minuters (the fatty after the same and the Germans were able to seize in the Br gasanatheratag Brainisten thebrapentale a a mpilit German cabinet minister Von Tattenbach also proclaimed the benefits of the war to a Portuguese counterpart, stanng that however regretuable the Herero uprising may be, it will lead to that vast icrritory being taken into possession and German South West Africa meeting a violation and area is g the second of the transfer of the section of the second of a altered the tea with a fixed breat has been been been NO DESIGNATIONS OF THE STREET STREET STREET colony rather than a so-called solor, et et s.

Assertation (That per fall) as the site of the same of the same of the battle of the same of the battle of the same of the same of the battle of the same of the s

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of military force as the most likely outcome and Albough annihilation does not unceressar by mean extraination (and this will be dealt with later), can an absent on interpretation really hold water given that the ulbrante goal was to remove a largely cavilian population from their land? Can one militarily annihuste women and children?

Richard Voeltz remiorces the argument that the orquistion of Herero land was the prime motivation for the genotide by emphasising the needs of both the settlers and British companies. He argues that Gernany based the economic growth of the territory on British concession companies and white settlement and therefore had no option but to support the policies of these corporations towards the Herero.<sup>817</sup>



Schutztnippe at Waterberg in 1904, on foot with horses

ata Lundtoffe, H. (2003) 'Radicalization of the German appreciation of the Hererorising at the Filterior S.I.B. for General force of implement and continuous additional and selection of the Additional Continuous and Continuous and Additional Continuous and Additional Continuous and Additional Continuous and Continuous a

517 Voelte, R.A. (1988) Cormaneologisthm and the South West Africa Company, 1889–1814, Allie in Aparhead Western copiation in occapied Navibus. Monographs in Hierary, in New 1904, Alen Soviet of Novibus. Ohior-Chaol and reserve Control for Internation of Naview. At the Naview of the Internation of Naview. At the Naview of the Internation of Naview. At the Naview of the Naview of the Naview.

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The authorities had now contemplated the reason of sower sector the protection of the Herero, despit, their initial apposition. Already to 1898 the authorities decreed that true I reserves would be created in certain.

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the lack of adequate consultation<sup>450</sup> and the initiateral determination of the houndaries —appreciably exauciblated the Herero's exasperation, anger and anxiety. They duly recognised that the 'benevalent' process constituted yet another example of their disregarded rights, <sup>251</sup>

#### In reasing pressure on the 1 con

Many theories have been advanced about the reasons for the Flevero uprising, but this chapter does not address them in depth. Rather, it evaluates the precipitaris in the context of the German goals of the time and how this resulted in genocide Broadly, the rationale for the aprising and thou this resulted in genocide Broadly, the rationale for the aprising watted to protect that and and livestock, while the Germans wanted to acquire their land and livestock, while the Germans wanted to acquire their land and livestock, while the Germans took over pussession of the action and an archete provoked the anxiety and agriation of the Elevero, who was were going to be its rate. The aprising enabled' Germany to respond with generoted and this response allowed for quicker and cheaper procurement of the Herron sessinges.

As noted earlier the Herero reassance was neither granutous nor isolated <sup>853</sup> for an apprecedents a both other German cokanies and in GSWA. As discussed above, shortly before the Herero War, the Bondelswartz revolted active colonial enterprise <sup>834</sup> In fact, Governor Leutwein was away, attempring to deal with the uprising of the Bondelswartz in the nouth of the territory when the Herero rose up in January 1804. The Herero allegedly consciously used this apportunity as defences were weaker, with many German troops in the south. It is also possible that the Herero rehelled because they had not be monar that Leutwein had been stilled during the Bondelswartz revolt, beaving them in fear of what any less florient leader succeeding him would

BN Werner, W (1998) No-one will broade rich. Economy and worldy in the Electro reserves
a. N. m.b., 1913–1946. Basel. P. Schletwein +5

Sobinson has argued that the success or failure of policies introduced in various of the foreign of the case the constitution of the period various. In part of the case the case of the c

1. Style of W. B. Ville H. & April Car Lond Makes Miller 195

or to the state of they had believed be had been killed, in this letter Man are to they had believed be had been killed, in this letter Man are to the state of his new had had been killed, that they had been had had been at the same official for the same of the same same same of the military, so the alleged death must have alarmed then.

The overriding determinant of the reballion was the Horero increasing disempowerment as they ost more land and cattle. Alexander malarith that the and question [Tather than the problem of wages or political rights] was the central question. But the Herero apprising and therefore the war must be anti-colounal. At that time, the Settlement Comin asoner, Paul Rohrbach, also held this view. Rahrbach argued that the Herero saw increasing munders of German settlers arriving to take more land and a all and that even the protection treather could not stem the rule of settler land-claims over the whole territory Aucording to him the rebullion was "a struggle for national independence from the Germans. The Herero feared the expropriation of their land by the whites. "In addition. Alexander, Werner and others correctly rite other contributing factors, such as the general mattreatment meted out to the Herero, the bias in the dispensing of Justice, the system of trade and credit that indepted them and the infinite that and of reserves."

Both Bley and Gewald raise the issue of the Herero's 'perceptions' of the situation Gewald's observation that the Herero acced on their perceptions and a size of the second were less significant that the Herero head-mental is and in they believed that 'German expanses would never stop and that the least that have is a second of the continuity of the less than the least significant that the least

Oc. a. N. C. M. Church and itale relations in South West Africa under November 1982 of the November 1983 of the No

While it is true that land sales by the chiefs were not continuing at the same rate as they were in the five or so years preceding 1905, the Fereign days happy see, one of end in that person and his process presented Revero territors was which high after and his process presented Revero territors was which high applied. Then, proceeds and they were accurate as they soon lists a most at their sand antifalls.

The exablishment of reserves must have contributed to their concern and resentment, in his book, Elf-Jahrs, Leutwein printingly attributed the Herero rebel ion to the creation of reserves, saying the Herero believed it to be a ploy to get cortrol of their land \*\*40 in a 1804 report, Rheatsh missionary Kuhlman concurred with Leutwein's view \*\*\*\*.

Gewald maintains that it was not the Herero chiefs, but the missionaries who were opposes to the sale of land. Admittedly, many chiefs were amounted to selling their land or at least susceptible to influence, because they were tinder pressure from the colonial authorities and the settlers. Debt forced some to sell. The antiral disasters had reduced their cattle holdings and made them dependent on other acurces of income to feed their communities. Despt. all this, the Reirco people were generally opposed to the sales and believed the cutefs had no right to trade their land.

The planned Otay, marrond exacerbated the land, issue, as it would cut through Hereroland a value, the land are strips and leaving less land heatable by larning. In 200 the Herero sued the company in question<sup>343</sup>, we ording to some who are rise at any coure prompted the Herero corticle <sup>3643</sup>. Br Igma neave that by 1900 very little Herero land had been alreaded, but as the railroad construction reached Windhock, the page of the land loss

Jenvery T.C., and Elf-Jahre Gomermur in Deutsch-Submediffrin, Berlin M. Piler. 2 & Greden, Wester Peters of H.C., and The Hernandk mentality in Cornar South Africa. 1989, 1944. D.Jult. H. story, Predora University of South Africa, 1982.

801 Ritter-Petersen, H.1. 1951) The Herrenvoll mentality in German South West Africa.

118 Dimboler H. 1880) Lat as die fighting. The struggle of the Herror and Volma equinat the German imperialism (1689-1915), Barrid Zöllner, transil), London. Zed. Press, 188

to company being sued is denicate Benk, it was a member of the Otavi Mines and Railway Company's board from 1990 to 1998 Discontin-Genilaring/, a principal investor in the Otavi Mines and Railway Company later merged with Destroh

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The comprehensive and anremitting way in which the arrival of the Germans impinged on the Herero provided sufficient providestion. For rebellion, Brudgman notes that in 1903, the day when the Hereros would not him, i.e., i.e., that is 1904, the day when the Hereros would not him, i.e., i.e., that is 1904, the day when the Hereros would not him, i.e., i.e., i.e., i.e., the Hereros had so many reasons for rebelling and interaction of the say why they had not accellent if the were systematically being treated poorly and disrespectful it they were systematically heng deprived of their hand and livestock, they were soon to be confined to small reserves to which they had not agreed and they believed the only official who treated them justly had been killed There seems to be ample evidence to suggest that such comprehensive exertion of pressure on the Herero was designed to force them into account that could justify reprisals

- Bridgman 1981 The revolt of the Henrick Los Angeless University of California Priss.
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## Appropriating Herero land and cattle during and after the war

we come to the war (ternant, as a with valva to a deal of the two controls of miles and the settlers just less than four million hectares. More than 31 million of the approximately 89 million hectares in USAM (were so, in the hands of the indigenous population, <sup>234</sup> Put another was, in 1904, of the cotal of 500 000 oquare kilometres deemed autable was, in 1904, of the cotal of 500 000 oquare kilometres deemed autable was, in 1904, of the cotal of 500 000 oquare kilometres deemed autable was, in 1904 of the record of 500 000 oquare kilometres deemed autable was in the hands of settlers and according to Bridgman, the pace at which Rerero land was being taken predicted that complete dispossession was immittentially for the settlers were still a sactist. Thus it it the process of a quirting more feedly as it in as to skew a more than 337.

During the war, the German authorities acted very quickly to coolineate a viril at a 10 May 405 mar than a and would be expreor at a record at a record at a property of the Herero, north of the Tropic of Caprisorn, had been forfeited to the state. This became 'legal' on "August, 1906 because, supposedly, no complaint were not at a Certains exerted control to the first and was at the time from the no locals over eight and so against a for a locals over eight and an additional and the control denter than the control denter the time than a locals over eight and so against the control of the state of an analysis of a governor could they get fand So with the war as broaded they are dended on a) March 1907, German settles in reason in more the universal or miles.

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The extermination order announced by Von Trotha in Oghhereru stated that all the Elevero were to variete the land, as it now belonged to the Germans. The inclusion of the simplification about land in the extermination order, inambiguously shows that the intention was to drive the Hereiro out in order to take over the land if they did not comply they would have to deal with German gains Soggas suggests that establishing a purely whate society may have been part of the reason for the genocide <sup>2008</sup> Palmer argues, on the other hand, that the

See a section with West Africa after the conquest 1904-19-45 Section 1904 to the section of trace London Andrew Section 1905

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genoode was mean to prevent the reoccupation of the land by the Herero <sup>165</sup>. She seems to suggest that the Herero rebellion of 1909 was autised at redaming Herero land lost through sales and that it, therefore, had to be put down to present remains an either that the Trans. The sale is to the open the sale and the

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The generale also targeted earlie in addition to land and with it the Herero identity Herero cattle ownership was seen as a threat to German settlements. We have seen as threat to German settlements. We have seen as the converse that further destroyed to see a matter that is not to this sould be given a carlo at indirector aspect, and the local goddy seen as traction in home with any or against a seed of the destroyed of the de

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The genocidal intent of the war remained apparent even after the war ended, the Germans were not satisfied with having killed most of the Herero and having taken their land and eattle, they also implemented various measures to visite in the enhant loyalty and a letter among the community Herero In the rements apparent lay the valous faith instruction replaces the system of chiefs 350. The following statement by the Commissioner for Setztement of chiefs will the remove the process the system of a roguel general. Voir Trotha, Regarding the surviving Herero, he decured that our job is to strip the Herero of his heritage and national characteristic and gradually to submerge thin, along with other natives into a single colored working class <sup>221</sup>. The 'physical genocide was not enough — the status inough of the Herero needed to be abilitrarious.

The control of the sand users is an interacting the fact that, annuarital farming in GSWA only really began after 1907 374 Botha notes that settlement in GSWA truly took off after the war in 1908, partly because larger loans were given to the settlers. 374 In the go years between 1887 and 1907, only 480 farms were sold, but the war brought auch change to GSWA that many German settlers were willing to focus on farming. In 1907 alone, 400 farms were sold and in 1908 another 1447 were sold <sup>384</sup> In 1904, white sowned 388 farms. <sup>385</sup> By 1913, there were 1531 white-owned farms and the white population had risen to 14 460, <sup>389</sup> Half the agricultural land in the Polite Zone (the southern and central parts below the Red Line) was taken up by white farms. Whites, of whom 914 were German and the rest matrix Afrikaners, owned 1044 of these farms. These white farmers owned 189 197 large twostock or ninety percent of the total of 206 645. Blacks owned only 28.476 cattle in the whole territory <sup>267</sup> However, blacks owned about

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one third of all the small Investnets was A colonia, tremurandum on land holdings gives the following breakdown of farm stace in the same

- see and owners owned more than 100 000 hectares that included the R winst missionary society and the Catholic Mission.
  - 11 owned between 60 000 and 100 000 hecthres,
- 88 farms comprised between 20 000 and 50 000 bectares.
- 275 farms consisted of between 10 000 and 20 000 hectares,
  - 481 farms were between 5 000 and 10 000 hectanes, and
    - 47. farms were smaller than 5.000 hectares. Aus

## Interracialism, mixed race Cerman citizena and alcoholism

Other developments in GSWA a true time added pressure on the Kanar and the Germans to take action in their view of the certain the service of the service of

the whole race, being usuly inferior in numbers to the indigenous population, should institute a defendant and sub-reprity in the Application and sub-defent about the race income in a sub-defendant and sub-defent at the race income of native and ladf-assis. Thus, they should not work exect to are competition with Africa idobutrit. 34

Pfator notes that the 'efforts to make German South West Africa an exact copy of Germany and a breeding ground for German cuture were accompanied by two frames, in ten of the other personal confacts with the ansatz in the confacts and an an identity and any an identity and any great in the all toochages.

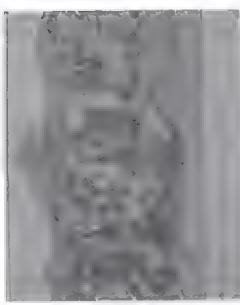
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Porterd from GSWA showing mixed-race relationships between the settlers, soldiers and the storero

The settlement contribusioner Paul Rohrbuch noted. "That unmarried settlers have black bed and table fellows is as natural bere as eating and druthing the white traders do it likewise, the solders on the small and large posts, indless Orly, it is prohibited to take the native women unto the men's quarters went. Those back home must have been appailed that the settler men not only had sexual and other haisons with black women, but wanted to <sup>204</sup> The intuber of mixed-race children in GSWA is subject to debate, but it seems that by World War I there were between 3 200 and +300, <sup>409</sup> The authorities were gravely concerned that the white race would degenerate into an inferior zitized race group <sup>598</sup>

163 Ritter-Petersen, H.G. (1983) The Herraroll mentality in German South West Africa 1884—1914. DLitt (Hutury) Preteria University of South Africa, 105 to be the state of the state termine and the fulfille 1880 1940.

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Lannac, C. (2008) Haler's Black Techns. The H. — al Esperiences of Afra-Germans. European Blacks and African Americans in the N — Era. New York: Moutedge: 46

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Mixed marriages were considered such a scrous problem that a decree was issued in 1905 probibiting magistrates from marrying mixed couples 409 Chinch marriages were also prohibited 409 A 1905 report spelled out the rationale for this measure

Male half-caste of permy would observate become subject to mitiary duty, would be able to half public offices, would have the right to vote when this was creentually in their many than the right to vote when this was creentually as a many to the right permy that is a many than the right permy that is a many that is a many to the right permy that is a way to the right permy creation of half-caste deitldren. These liousness should have reasonal and the emerges would not present accusal contacts between whitees and effective and he searchoned legally and the offspring should not be elegationed or be allocated considered and the permy creation of half-caste deitldren. These liousness should have every one has permy creation of half-caste deitldren. These liousness should have every one has permy the proclamation was also considered the way that there was also considered the results was also considered the results.

Further steps were also in 1 = are, to be considered as all one is the pall areas of the entire that all one is the result of palls and other rate of the entire ages quenched and other and entire ages and when the above and the safe the higher were raised to the requirements of the palls and decembes 300.

is a courage white women to go to GSWA to keep the settler population pure. In a public betture the mayor of Bückeburg, a Mr Kültz, implored white German women to go to GSWA by appealing to their patriotism, staining that it will be and for German women if they could not misster enough from their misst who would regard it as a great noble cause to bring victory to German entities, to German heritage in the new German territory, sor like, to German culture, to German heritage in the new German territory. Sor like, to German developed to attract German women included incentives, such as albeidbed transport costs. The first women were sent to GSWA in 1890

95 See further and on the issue of mixed relationships Zimmerer, J. In Zimmerer, J. & Zeller, J. (2008). Generale in German South-West Africa: The Colonial War of 1+++, and its offermath. Monitacuth. Merlin Press, 19-37.

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and establish their own monopoly of power 18 The Deputy Governor of of resources " (1) a review of Pr. II van Frathas work, Value as Eake & round that this facilities the invaders to demonstrate their absolute levil nation the same Hans Teckhaburg, underscored the idea that the Herero had to de suppagated in such a way that it would deter them (and anyone who may consuler relating. The more the Herere tribe leass he consequences of he The Cormans likely saw the cost of qarding the Herero opristig, which at GSWA and other colonies to follow suit For Cermany, this was not an springs. The Herero and the other tribes had to be taught a lesson and the dire colonism g nat any at lased this strategy and there a \$ 1 act mplayed a health Ir, 19 con Inatha has stressed that massas res were the nest strategies for the olimia, ists to achieve the highest degree of intermedition with the beast air ourit was about 400 m. Blon marks at that time " senjay as the cost of central business in the colony, specifically to obtaining access to the land. So tritical to the colonial enterprise was the subjugation of the Herero that thousands of German troops were sent to GSWA 313 If Germany allowed the Herero to start of the meeting two its meetingly and the stay for other groups consequences were rusa of the refer others from contemplating read to a Many De an GSWA sperifically in the against the Abandeen at Antonia uprising, the less they was arrase for a posting another any

As noted before, Gewald attributed the outbreak of the war to settler paranoia, a series of misuaderstandings and German colonial with 12 7thm who

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The genecide was also committed as a reprisal for having the gall to rebelagatist Herranolla colorial, rule <sup>669</sup> Braginan notes in this regard that the various virteries by the Electrons in the months of March and April, glorious as they were at inc. 11 seconds in the state of the rule for the military authorities in the rule of the rule of the military authorities in the thirt of the rule of the military authorities.

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generical war. Both the Berlin and new two and the settlers warned the war the war around have even in some the until formethingstyfell was no reachided by the Kaiser harn attempt to limit damage to Germany's international coputation. Instead, the war because protracted and the general now had no schieved more surrepitablesly than was mititally intended. This led to the use of even taches a maintaining the cordon that pushed the Hervin and the desert to die and working and starvasig them to death in the concentration camps.

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its colonies. And Because Germany was the last European country to build a colonial empire, it indertook the protess rapidly and ruthlessly Furthermare, C., han bones were saviet as a rose of other shared prosess a leavas seen that Carry a had not been we han the scal black force as a leavas rose last shared and angle Cuert and said at the size, a seek to be a hadge to been a take stated to gard, and said seek to be a langer to be that a seek to be a langer to be that a seek to be a langer to be that a seek to be a langer to be that a seek to be a langer to be that a seek to be a langer to be the seek to be a langer to be a lang

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Calls to punish the Herero came from various parts, m, a cog in Commandant of Swakopimund He sent a telegram to the German Foreign Office on 19 January 1904 stating that the Hereros must be disarmed, merallessly punished and rounded up to perform forced labor for the ralway. The chief engineer of the Otavi rankay wrote to the head of German South W. Africa affairs in the Colmon Office, also on 19 January 1904 341, here in the colmon to the pint down with severity and that all those resemble that the resemble that all those resemble that all those resemble that all the series and the series of the resemble that all the resemble that the resemble that the resemble that all the resemble that all the resemble that all the resemble that the resemble that all the resemble that the resemble that all the resemble the resemble that all the resemble

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Summed up n a few words, it may be sted that for theer meomystence to deal with native enemies, for gross enability to cope with a situation beyond prescribed prescribed prescribed prescribed in the new mability in hending troops against a hastily hampered enemy to make a against the Heriter, it, it into a new the new to a new the new transfer.

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#### CHAPTER TWO

#### IMPLEMENTING THE GENOCIDE: ANNIHILATING "THE AFRICAN TRIBES WITH STREAMS OF BLOOD AND STREAMS OF GOLD"

I am sending a word to you Hererot, you who are Hererot are no longer under the Germans. Tou Hererot must now heav this land it belongs to the Germans. If you do not do that I shall remove you with the bug gun. A person in German land shall be killed by the gun. I shall not catch women and the sick but I will class them affer them chieff on I will kill them with the gun. These are my words to the Herrero nation.

The Great General of the Kaiser, Trotha!

In order to secure the peaceful White settlement against the bad, culturally mept and predatory native tribs, it is possible that its actual eradication may become necessary under certain coadstons.

- Settlement Commissioner Dr Paul Rohrbach

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representation of the New York Theory of Artesta was more in and Sort one of the many through Hillier Sort one of the Hillier of State First When the many Comments, European Blacks and African Americans is the Mass Era. New York Routledge, 43.

### German brutalities before 1904

Many have debated whether German cruelty in the colonies exceeded that of other colonial powers. According to Cooper, what the Germans fild the Hetero was among the most rehumane sections of the colonial era<sup>24</sup> On the other line. Hetero was among the most rehumane sections of the colonial era<sup>24</sup> On the other line. Here, a test is a test in the first line in the colonial erace. In the color, a test in the color, and the color and the color present the number of the left of the color and comman erace of the Here is a section in the left in the color of the left of the color and the c

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Cooper A.D. (2001) Drambo politics in the twentieth century. Lathbam. University Press of America.

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reports indicate that the German 'scorched earth policy in suppressing the BMS 1807. May Retellion' on Tanzania left between 80,000 and 800,000 Africans dead. It some sources put this figure as high as half a million 18 Two governmental commissions of enquiry investigating the Maju-Maju-Path of the discontain poinces of the Government and the theorem is the Maju-Maju-Path of the discontain poinces of the Government and their ruthless implementation by its people in the area.

har a section on Certifier color to queling ther Alman relations? they had contested the process of colonisation. The reprisals were meant to making the However most meginally (nersult a thorney andertoes Brutality was thus common not only in relation to the Herero. Nor did it cease when the 1904 order was withdrawp mether in GSWA nor in other parts of the world. According to Lundtofte, 'the threshold between total war and genecide in the colonies is very low and easily trossed. Even the dividing line between the arbitrary destruction of the means of subsistence of African tribes in French and British colonies and the encirclement and forced containment on the barren paints is not great. 15 Yet, the Herens genouse was as Committee and a separation arrangement as a activities The genocide was not the independent action of a rogue general, nor was The Herero were treated differently because of what they had done, because see I a message en else Herser can es ether greens de es has quences of the merce and even pape is about that a west a therefore a compatible of the Hereta it an arbitrary mulitary strategy dended upon by the soldiers in the field the genocide because they wanted the Herero land and cattle

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Likel K. 1888 A. 1 tary power in German colonial points. To San Dengio, and Thirds, 1888 A. 2 and Dengio, 1 to the inch 1988 A. 2 and Dengio A. 3 and Dengio A

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the Belgran Congo " Yet it was w felt at a deal to the condition of the co H a strained telline and by a contract to the with local populations,13 to Cameroon even women were flogged and to the standard sentence of 25 lasts. punishment was extens on a second of the or of the the day of the contract of the day of the straining of the day. was inhuman, brutal and unworthy of a state that had shollshed flogging name, code in 1871 at The parties generally accused the colonial troops of Corporal punishment was prevalent in German calomes as a way to deal the of the tenth of the same of the tenth of the tage as a punishment in many parts in 1848 and completely removed in training are a second to the colonies and the handful of Hottentois \*\* the South West colony They specifically objected not only to the stage seems of the Herero but also to the cruel action taken in East Africa This a cass Read a district

And See A proved and a see the settlers was common despite the fact that is a right to his adding of employers in South West Africa had

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New York/ London Greenwood Press, 119–219. 23

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punishment in sentencing and during 1908 and 1904, 340 auch sentences were raposed, 48 The number of such punishments continued to rise thereafter, so harty of and 1942 65% floggrigs were impossed for he gracture was executions prevae of motion parts of the columniant, a same of a safe 19 N. 8 057 such sentences were imposed in German East Men a and a will a Cameroon.2" The arbitrary, harsh and brutal nature of the judicial system in the German colonies has been widely criticised\*\* and John Hiffe argues that no study of Germon administration can have any reality without stressing the no clear basis in positive law. 25 The courts in GSWA also appared corpora norrors of the almost unrestricted flogging'

es Salaam is ted in 190" that 'mearly every white man walks around with a whip.. and almost every white man indulges in striking any black man he chooses to "TECSM A employers regularly assaulted or killed their Herero almarers In a larrer to the Namer biof Wir and Samuel Matherers complained hat the Germans regularly and an wrantly halled Herero and Nama people at The courts did not offer any protection either, Under-Chief Daniel Kariko of left by German traders, their cattle were taken by force, they were flogged traders instead of protecting us. 44 Covernor Leutwen's comments support In addition to the corporal perushineras meted out by the courts common assaults were also routher, so much so that the colonial secretain the Dai the Omarury stated 'Our people were being robless and deceived right and and ill-treated and got no redress. In fact the German pouce assisted the thus contention. He noted that racial harred has become rooted in the very

Schwirch H (8009) 'Law's violence and the boundary between corporal discipline and physical abuse in German South West Africa' 56 Akron Lau Revieu, 81, de Gann, L.H. (eds) Germans in the trapust Essays in German colonial history Stoucker 1. 987. The position of Africana in the German colonies. In Rioll, A.J.

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handeness of seven Coloured persons could outweght the evictory of exp. the edn. so and by the Deutsche Folomolbund, which stated that a securit - by framework of justice 33 The severe bias of the justice system is in lone is

be the not the first of the above to be not the tentum of which In the alone is accorded to literary and activities the feature and the sense. below the and rape was seconness (1514 ) that the Companient for it Barties his a few deringen graving attertant Schmadt gedestate in alter end. Tape of Heroro women by Certain colores of traine and offer the 'the' the practice was so antegereal active and after the mar there is maken to k rectails a graptive lerge workshound in a reach an arased sare Ween a Swiss newspoper i Brasion volu. Olin gasgrapi of a Herrico woords. the rank it a parterplan of researce literary and leak his the darmberrestancia effection that because she retused us was a cleanurs. The Dispense le flor was a control of agreed, in the constant of a was interpreted as an a seesa. In the real of neverth the healthing property the relative ages a iger for s distribution of a feet of the activities of a certific git the tails at in that Hearte, lewas of arleworth to the Germans 38

Speed als in general in this treatment accorded to the derictor Schwitch centrifies I am the Comman treated the 3d genum population so also en es a the Book with except and was applying to then markedly contrasted with that of women and children or of servants for that

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we Mad B to touth Janeers of frantier generale 1809-1910, The abstract at Learnantians, the Yuke of California and the Herero of Namibia' 6 (2) Journal of Generale Research, 167-92, 141

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Namehm. In annotated reprint of the 1918 Blue Book Leiden Brill, 84

marrer. Unlike the latter groups who played undensably crucial roles in social rependituding a part of German society, amost the action of Cerman society, amost the action of Cerman society, amost the action of the cycle of discrimination present in contemporary German law, 39

Before the upriming the Herero leader, Samuel Maherero, arressed this brutel is in the attempt to elicit support from other groups But complaints arone German — Dissues were nothing new As early at 1893, Nazar Chief is near Wilhous — Signary of it the Gard I always at the Samuel Albary. The expresses to thin letter active time, are some rear threst at the Caps to get involved:

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The Honourable the Secretary for Notive Affairs has instructed me to reply to your letter of the -10 affairs, you what your communication of the 10 angust lost addressed to the Magnited Middle Bay complianting of the fraction... of the only on Acar received at the hands of the Germann, diving been referred to Her Not Government, a reply has been received by His Excellency the High Commissioner from the Secretary of State to the following effect. That the British Government has promised that of Germann and Instalyties in serial parts of West Africa among principle and the Middle Africa among visible it was United it you District and that it is impossible to take back that private afficies among that may be done in those countries over which German protection is exercised and cooked advise your Lights from a responsible to desirant protection is exercised and imported Commissioner at It induced.

operal Commissioner at II makeek.

The Comma Community to yore songed see cannot enterfere to any makeer.

excerning within the area of the German Protectorale

I nemana your Priend

J. Host-Janes Under Serretary for Native Affairsto In a letter to Headrik Withoot of the Nama duted 11 January 204, just as the war began, Maherero wrote:

Allowr obedience and patrence with the Germans is of titlle awail, for each day they shoot someone dead for no mason at all. Let us dir fighting rather than dix as a

scholark I (2002) Laws violence and the boundary between corporal discipling and payes and now of terman South West Mr. a. 91 strong Laws B. 22 a. 3.

60 Cantisined in Gewald, 1-B. & Silvester, J. (2003) Words cannot be found. German colonial raise in Nambus. In annotated reprint of the 1918 Blue Book Leubern Brill, 200.

result if malirestment, imprisonment in some other colonity. Tell all the kapteins fapteins

Manurum and the share that the behaviour of the Germans had been legally prominent to allog the trunder of the Herero was commonplace long but he the arrival of Ver Thotha and the external and over the excessions of the contract of the parties of the base of the state of the many years of steady encroachment on Herero land\*\* and the rapid removal of the Herero's cattle. Lundrofhe restarks that the 'long term objective of exproprishing the Herric's land and cattle, happening at greater speed than Leutwein had washed, was nearing accomplishment \*\* He does, bowever, schrowledge that the if we position of the Hororo, whites received short prison terms or were acquitted for the murder of blacks, while blacks were put to death for the that the injections of the injects need not within the river that a large cruel punishments, rape and muruer, w. P. the tear pive and, face as a ba reta, her. Mare. "also notes that the Mercro's political frustration accessed on German treatment of Herero women, general physical abuse and legal compal the very last real suggest of the market by the every hard of the mequality under colonial law, 16 Furthernore legal usage my tuting a 200 murder of whites '40

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German troops carrying out miss hangings in GSWA

## 1904 and beyond; the intent, the order and the extermination of the Herero

In 1904, thousands of Herero—men women and children on my and ald—were hilled. The methods employed demonstrate untent to commit genorate. No distinction was made between between killing combatants and non-commannes. The most specific indication of the order for genorate was "be proclamaton is study General Lothar von Trotha on a October 1904. In that document he decreed.

The Herry people will have to leave the country. Otherwate I shall force them to do so by mean of gent Within the German boundaries, every Hrern, whether found armed on manned, with or suthout addite, well be that. I shall not accept any more summen or children. I shall force them to the two people otherwater I shall force them to be shot Sygnes the terral General of the Vigit. I hauser our Trathat.

6. Von Thothal order as translated from the Octinerro version. Quoted in Growald J.R. & Savester J. Borne William strong terminal volumilation of Vinibus in agranda. Per nof the 1918 Blo Base Leviko Bry. 108 ft.

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thrary topics were removed and destroyed. In the rest of the British Empire, the Blue Both was also removed from libranes and sent to the Foreign Office  $^{19}$ 

As forest plence of the eight on paper or in German the existence of such an order is continued on various so rees in suding Crassers con Irotha binased. He were the following about the order on- he law it issuing. I

I below that the nation as such thould be awithilated. I find it must appropriate that the nation periodes instead of infecting our inklaters and diminishing their supplies of vaster and food. They have to periode a the Sandweld<sup>30</sup> at try to cross the Bechamalaud border.<sup>30</sup>

While these words are not equivalent to an exterimination order, this document certainly spells out Yon Trocha's intent, particularly as it was written on the same day as the order. Despite this, people such as Lau have denied that the Germans intended to commit genocide or even that they carried it out at all. They dismiss eited statements by German commanders that show genocidal intent as mere psychological warfare tactics.<sup>5</sup>

A recent example of such right-wing revisions twriting is a 2005 paper by Claus Nordbruch. According to him, the debate about past genocides is stifled by the 'extremists', and 'lots of exterminationaby publications are saturated with overused and worn our sbut-up words such as genocide, brutality, fascism, German tyranny, extermination politics and of course Holocaust' 58 He dismisses writings that describe the events as genocide as prejudiced

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w. Nardings. A properties committed on the Herery people during the suppression of the roots by the energy south West Mine 1904-1907? An analysis of the an all analysis ages is Coernal, and a to be again to the demands for repeating Paper delivered to the European American Culture Coural, Servamento, 26 April 2004. Available at http://www.moordbruch.org/artikel/ascrammento.pdf

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Despite these sorts of refutatic s, their can be no lean that Ver, roths itseld to wape out the Herero. He declares to the Governors

From the throat He to Theorem is The one respond to fore the same of the transfer (gransomenes). I show a find the transfer to the terms of photod and dreams of gold the

Less seat ment indicates the ports of the University to point the option of the platest raised to the power imbalance — an indicatrialised European nation was waging war against a much smaller African population that delinot have even a fraction of the resources at their disposal. Von Trotha assi wrote.

That nation must vasual from the face of the earth. Haring failed to destroy them with gain, I will have to achieve my end in that way. The extermination order?

Then won hatter, and induces evidence of the intent to destroy the Herero torsty as a tribularect evidence is varied and overwhelming and includes a vigal seal system (i.e., ii), selective and efficient killings by the German detachments, the barning down of Herero houses and ktsals, the confiscation

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of their cattle and the poissoning of warerholes and wells and tree a specific examination a situation of choiced in the foreign of the annex Countly Stanics. Archibolog Markman Pert hard gives an account of his visit to the area and what the found Peterties that, have givest gated the area and what the found the transcription of the received hours that is a right many that was true that they have been subjected to laid about resument and that a countral country and there and others driven on the integration and the rate of the offininger and thirst country as a fact of immigrations.

Von Tracha ordered the area where the Herero were to be wealed 50 to a 2500 for omere or don to the west and so dowest making a virtually organione to escape the desert.



### Potten mit Ma,drinengewehr.

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o. 1946. Ote her. Experiences a Kreephan South West Virka, XVI., XI. founds of the Head Sarely I or., 2



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Feter Daught and compute on the operator the December the Morecomposition of the Morecompo

In the GSWA scenario, the strategy involved scaling and posts in the water wells to strip the Herero of this lifeblood Ancording to Richard Here, the act of poisoning the wells alone constitutes general. "The German General Staff itself agreed that the dearst had inflicted a worse far on the Herero har Genuan arms could ever have done." The intent was clear from a report that stated 'If, however, the Herero were to break through, such an outcome of the battle could only be even more desirable in the eyes of the German Command because the enemy would then real his own fare, being domned to die of threst in the arid Sandveld.\*8 The deprivation of water would qualify under the legal definition of genounde, which incorporates a category identifying measures like deitying inembers of the group food, water, shelter health care and other necessaries, if the "". By driving the Herero mit the Sandveld, a waterless desert, po samp that

Nonetheless, several revisionist authors have attempted to downplay the extent and severity of German violations. Nordbruch, for example, tries to minimise what occurred by storing

presence of grant day ritent. This will be dealt with a more detail later

in the text)

few waterholes left and sealing off the area with a guarded cordon to make at impossible for anyone to excape, their actions met the criteria for the legal definition of general definition of general definition.

The basic humane attitude of the German soldiers towards their hungry, thristy and exhansted primmers is depicted by private Paul Harrland, for instance, who is 1805 accompanied in Arnaspher, from Olymbiande to Olehandgio. The German vollder's good nature comes through as he shares everything with thiss post-chapt. I hunger and more hunger if the pitted the pour children, who coulds's or house, or hundring.

16 Herz, R.L. (2000 Winter) "Litigating environmental abuses under the Alien Tort (ainm Act. A practical assessment 40 Prigina Journal of International Low. In Deschales, H (1980) Let ut de fighting: The struggle of the Herro and Nama against the German imperialism 1894-1915) (Bernd Zollner, transl). London, Zed Press, 156.

Necesia D. 1900) Genocide: A crime against mankind. In McDonald, G.K. & Necesia. D. 1900) Relocation and procedured aspects of international criminal size. I the content of international and national court, vol. 1. The chague. Edwert Law. International into the content of the

who gained all our sympaths. With child-like tops the led her bland mather on a feather strap, "0

Me as theer exports told between tracting deal was deceased and instances of humane treatment it neithor negates the reality that other incidents occurred, nor does it neutralise the brutality documented in other Moreover, the relevant episode quoted by Noveland courtred and a 1904, when the externination order was in the cast of the coden took place and when the cruelty was most intensa. Busines in a mile country in a from German soldiers would obviously reflect a veltment meatury have one Nordbruth's seast evidence a law a commengation that said growing was ment many as be confined some all, given the legisment of evening testiving of a winner from a stilling is a was to a started. They account proves that Even if the Harrland account is true and it is one of a few documented Bridginan cites an eyewitness, one Bergdamara, who testified under cath that accounts. A few exceptions do not disprove the auplie evidlence to the contrary would hardly expect them to volunteer as we'll of their an area sinces to be easily on the contrary. Morning solder Scalings have new the a thor two calleer is intested the intest even before the order was given the Germans spared no one. They sulled thousands and thousands, I saw the slaughter for day after day 72

The figures ordered Vor Trotha to rescand he take a patter is the construction of the construction of the Herero and the Mana. Although the figures patter to return groups of the Herero and the Mana. Although the figures patter to reasonat the order as a diplomate construction of the partner of the permitted Vor Trotha to continue covertly with the received patter of the management of sometimes of the first of the form of the partner of the partner of the patter of the first of the

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Although these words extens its effer pardon protection and reward the assignable is as a namb guests as one or genal order the Cremans intense. I to expel, exterminate and not permit surrender Raphael Lornkin rotes that even steps taken by Von Trotha's successor were not really an annesty and he uses the word annesty in quotation marks.

been wheresterning

At that term exemerates reports and eyewithess test recomes of rubbess contact were obtained. Reports of what was nappened to SWA apparatum the Cape Town newspapers, 3 An eyewithess account reported by the Cape Argus in 1805 quoted Pertival Griffiths, who stated,

If then they fall they are gramboted by the soldiner in charge of the gang, sunth his full force, until they get up, Across the face was the forcourte blacefor the symbolism and force the face was the forcourte blacefor the symbolism from their bodies, from the sate of the weapon. I have never actually teem one dis under this trainment but it have seen one woman two in the first bodies, gramboting could not perfect that trainment but it have seen one woman two in the first sort symboting example of the sort in the fact of the sort symboting cased not perfect had she must have been dring. They faveress took place durin. They

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averaged while I was there from B to a dazen daily, with many childres and banes among them."

Merciless treatment already occurred in 1905, as evident in a November 1909 report in the Cape Times

[T] he whale tribe was proceed annihilated. As an instance of the weep in which the Germans treated reasons. There are at the class of the war? Treaty and prisoners in the hands of the Germans. These were matched to Keetmaniloep [ii.] for trian. On the way so, "Inc., and the way so," In which to walk, were stood in the spot and the remainder on arrive. Medinarioop were tried and what. It was noted not a single native of the district attended the execution."

We verys later the Cape Tgrants and the persistences of the CoM and across the Tables and across the Property of the Tables and the Cape of the across the Tables and Tables and the Tables and the Tables and the Tables and the Tables and T

They were old strang up to the trees by the nest and than shot. But suly were they trilled? The Germans sord they were species, but they were captured with the natives

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Certifian fulls in South-West Africa Some interesting facts. Cope Theory No. of Fig. 1, No. of F

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According to Ronald Dreyer, reports of the events in GSWA were an disturbing that the Government of the Cape Colony was concerned, mainly because of its provided to the Studies of its provided to the Studies of its provided to the Studies of Its of the Studies of the Studies

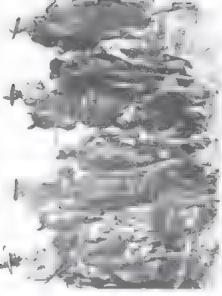
The Riseruth Missionary Kuhlman noted in a report dated 18 May 1904 that Corti. In south is tool limit than h, I no in note in it, also prisoners and executed the captured.

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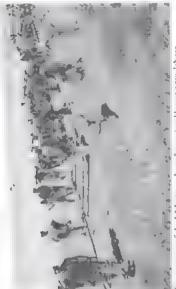
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Construction of the Lüderitz rathway line using Herera siave labour

Dr.10. or h Vedder, a famous historian later appointed to represent Namibian Africans in the South African Senate, attested to the dire conditions in the concentration camps

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  The Heeven people as such were annihilated. Quot.

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help from Kean and Philippus<sup>103</sup> (author's emphasis). This is swowed again in the introductory and closing lines. I am the Great General of the Germans I amending a word to you Herras. These are my words to the Herro author authors emphasis. However the recease these are my words to the terminal will achieve their processing a second to the contents and given directives for consequent action. The acte has informed of the contents and given directives for consequent action.

The proclamstron is to be read to the troops at roll-call, with the addition that the nor the an upon will also receive the appropriate revord and that shooting of second and that shooting at second and the control of the second and the second and the second and prisoner, the talter will result and and endersor. The latter will result and endersor the second and second an

Crucially, as Lundtofte and others have argued, 'Von Trothas proclamation was carried out to the letter in a war of extermination' "Regarding the warfare, GL Sceer cather anordantly wrote in 1939.

The Herens went into schoinon under the Paramount Chief Samuel Maherero. They fought according to werthin studies code, according to which German stidies prisoners were in fire a rought time. British and Dutch were broaded as old friends and white women and oldern of all mass were not touched. The Germans fought them exceeding to which prisoners were not inken and according to smore civilized code, according to which prisoners were not inken and according to another definition of the raped and beyonded 112.

Many eyewitness accounts (recorded in various sources) and many authors have confirmed the Germans indiscriminate kulling of the Herero. Drechsler stated that 'in reality the different treatment of men on the one hand and women and children on the other was not made. All Herero, irrespective of men, women and children, were killed whenever they fell into the hands of

11.11.13 A. A. S. Boshite destruction. Milliary sulture and practices of nor in Imperial General. Admin. Cornell University Press. "All Language and practices of corr.", Que. ed. 1-11a., 13 (2005). Abundate destruction. Milliary entline and practices of corr.

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Steer . . I 1999 Indigenent on German Africa London Bodder & Stoughton, Go Quence or Stone, D. (2001) "White onen with low moral standards: German as bropology and the Herero generals" 85 (2) Patterns of Prepader, 33–34.

German soldiers <sup>16,5</sup> Similarly, Bedszent affirmed that mass shootings of processes and keepers of wear as a livery warriers was the order of the eda. Even women and O dies were led during such batters, sometimes can barrier a very. Thus, the cherene, material the classical type of war the source during its section of a such a mark there are a such section men of miliary again, evel he we much charters on an analysis of German men of miliary again, evel he were the correct a by Nativa women and girls were terracted and a supe and rapie to German props, while the men and loss were interest and in secret.

Licerdang, it aims that the Kanser's Hun speech and the language Von Troths used in the proclamation were mere political rheforic conflict both with the manifest intentions and the bulk of the evidence (The sole of the Gaiser and the Mun speech will be dealt with later Notices by the statement of the Colonal Department in February 1904, shortly after the uprising began but months before Van Trotha arrived, shows that the Herero

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voud be killed regardless of whether they agreed to surrender or not in the epairt he wrote

will only drive them to despair, bringing in an endless war that had be to our undersatings. After all, the natives have nothing to lose now but have trees an The insurgents must brote that there is an afternative to death. Otherwise, in they are doomed anyway 117 The line were very not cates that there was talk and it is alway the Territor and giving no quarter !!! He confirms that the Herero knew without question that they faced death. This holds true either because they had been told so or because they had already experienced it Leutwein's report contradicts the argenesic by Peerse are when that the Carmana male aimed to accomplish a unliary and that on Lestwein warms about the production to consequences of a complete, divisional externment on and recognises the economic benefit of the Herero as labourers. He previously commental

can gain this objective by depressing the or gives, population of it. r gitte in ties in a the introder Others with to she them in propos desirate metry. The shine of the sun From the pasts of reas of the expected projets the tra and annual be made As regards the kind of cotonization energied, there is the last awake out our garde, how to make the destred profits in the survey furthern. Sums twivers that they to ording to a single coloure but must see rigum to east the water er Obviously, on this accomm the authorities did not beed it spike but pursued the policy conterm mation. Further the Copic or wrote dus to the German Colonia, Office and received no counter-order from it or anyone else it therefore seems that both those in Germany and their regional representatives accepted this 'policy of death' directed at the Færero without discussion or debate. The German government's silence about the pre-1904 strocities agnifies that they condoned them, taritly approved them or even ordered them Dre Buser 11 (1944) Let us der figheng. The strugge 6, the electric and Americanist Americans (1889-1815) (Bettid Zöllner transl.) London. Red

The Bryce Report, requested by the British Prime Minuter to examine the in and a of falta pt rib , were dant my short or an arted 14 Br. r Report into Greenson structs in field and Report of the Countries or on Alegar German Out was Appeared I Berton Mape . someonness and Presented Over by the connect of the and in diere during World War I, notes that there were obstances as an a bit of quarter was refused to persuava and reported as when it right? have been green in that persons allegers so wear alles to be R ged Flow I stourt Brave O W 1. Man 1415

118 Gann, LH & Duggan, P . , The rule of Georman (Pres 1864 10 ) Stunfard Stanford University Press, 75

When the director of the Colonial Department discovered, in early 1904, that Leutwein intended to negotiate with the Herero, the director ordered him n refrain 1.1 total 1. stops were taken to transfer control of the territory tern the Colon at Other to the War Office and the General Staff 181 seven in gh last was a farguest that the new weath concerning exterminates and ban slanger of the room, and the modifical were, therefore, to be THE BUILDING OF STREET

but Pears angues that the experimental the locals was considered long before Luwer death say the webit, of genocide norths before it occurred, that 121 In February 1904, missa any Elger wrote to the Rhentsh Missionary MARCH

I shart, to think what may happen in the months about The Germans well toulded. one night even say thay are thirating for the bload of the Herero 4 you have to a days is make a clean storep, hang them, shoot them to the last man, grow no quarter The Germans are consumed with mexpeoble hatred and a terrible to ... her to wear

n March 1904. Socialist deputy August Bebel protested in the Reschingshout the 'savage methods' that the German solders used Even Leutwein noted: alt getar - La taen adapteu that Roel was test the correct - ha in Man 1914, Leutwein also admitted that only two Herero had been captured we hat any been wounded, had doed and the other had been sentenced to death for supposedly attempting to escape. That so few filtrers had been captured I do not concur with that faith walt to we fin Henere assersor is go neith and a respect to be at the fact towns as you will a sweeter daring such a long period patently points to a policy of taking no prisoners that after a lithat has barysomed in solution of some stresses or meters.

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The extern nation of about hall of the Nama population during this period is proof enough of the intertively of this statement. As mentioned before the genocidal practices continued after 1803, even after Yon. Froth restand to crisma it is to a make the street for the red of the war. This is remarkable considering that in the annualisation of this population similar are their cess persisted right throughout the first ici ago of the 'warnier controp part cess persisted right throughout the first ici ago of the 'warnier controp and controlled from that point on control and different was also well different ways and with different was a first or a controlled the different was an account of the control the different was an account of the control the change fow Herron who survived denied the different was an account of the change for the practise of their own religion.

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1890-1923 Oxford James Carrey 131

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## The number of Herero killed in the genocide

A major debate in the study of this specific history is that of how many Herero and Nama were hilled in the genocide There seems to be agreement that the Herero losses were comparatively greater than those suffered by the Nama. 157 Critically, the 1904 Narra upr sing provided the Germans with the pretext to herr land, the Nama 3id not Sonie Namas, whom the Germans considered to also occupy and gain possession of Namaland. Yet, while the Herero lost alhave remained supportive of their enterprise, were able to keep their land <sup>130</sup>

the greater the nutther of fatalities, the warse the atrocity committed 1 Given the auademic disputes, the number of fatalities will be addressed, yet in a common state of the constraint of the same of the billion with the women and children. Thus, whether 60 000, 80 and or 100 one. the actual numbers do not invalidate the commission of generate. Obviously naccurate, the total deat was probably greater than in the Boer Wan, the Crimean War, the Spanish American War, the Seven Weeks War and a dozen researched is miniaterial from a legalistic point of vacuum to a real the it will the it it it is not be truly a populated with the discounted Megan to same and the restable being best of the most off them of the and the second of the state of the reparations, it is useful to note rear a more and present as we lead the 'casualty figures are not or next recent other, after other we haget new to a first "

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nd of the Herero through extermination or exile, so that ther land and cattle a bu labell it so that an an analy may

The numbers debate derives, in part, from controversy over how many we while of the exemple will all a second CAME TO LETTER TO THE TOTAL TO THE BOLL BY AS ME TO and the major was second to the contract of the specific figure that has a state of the transity of the same in the land In pl ... GSWA at the time of the genocide, how many Herero there a cart rite to the to the water the company to the total the total the cart the magnetic and the part it is to a about how many Hereev and Nama existed before the government the government or and a second THE EXECUTED THE RESERVE OF THE BOTH TO THE A the state of the state of the second state of the second were at the battle of Waterberg

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<sup>&</sup>quot; ( o n , W 2005) 'A classification of denals of the Holocosst and other genocides 5 (1) downal of Grnocide Reserva, 11-3-8, 3%

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- Raphael Lemini lehered that the a more of Heren tell from 9000s to 1500s to 75000 show
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- Hervey academic and politionan White amba bearna found, at 1935. 4bat by 905, out of a population of 97 000 Hervero there were on \$20.000 set and by 1818 he suggests \$0.000 had deed, while out of a population of \$0.000 had deed, while out of a population of \$0.000 Natra and Damara only \$7.748 were alive 199
- Laurar Middleton, in 1936: ralying on German lustomans states 1000000,155
  - Nagan and Rodin: 100 000:156
- to Palmet, A. (1998-January) "Coom-nowled modern genouse explosions and salegouses." Ethere and Ravial Studies, 89-115, 90
- Laarboff, D. (1991) The wild South-West. Frontier myths and metaphort in literature on an Vineua. Sty. 1788. Journnesbirg, W. Evinteinstand, "Haverall, "Frances." Teach.
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- Ragits Group Teachathen 6 in Proceedings in Africal Sound at the Jacker Rance Sound at the Jacker Rance Center of the American Jewish Archives, Cincinnate, the
  - Raphael Laukin papers. Box 6. Folder 9, 14 ... Slev. H. (1971). Suth-1974t Africa under Gernan rult. 1884-1934. London.
- Africans (1917) The Prasses last in Africa Lordon: Bodder and Steaghton Africans (1917) The Prasses that from when the Germans-or pressor to 1917 the population of GSWA fell from between 750 tox and a mishon to
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- in remain than a tire. Linktonia Pows is a special to take German colonial scandals, at 1913 is an high of the right force to 65 ods.
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- ... Medica ton. 1 ... 186 The Robe of April New York Harrison Sin th and Ramon
- 1. Nagan, M.P. & Roden, V. F. (2003-2401) Rootser, generals, and masse marder Trough depresations. Voltonal Black Lette Journal,

All the wifgines suggest that between 60,000 and 100,000 decrete when the Weel William and proposed the satimates vary from 60,000 to killed William Evelogian and I asked that 40,000 Herero were killed satisfies that the trice on macurate estimates by people such as Evens from a like to the on macurate estimates by people such as Evens from a like to the on macurate estimates by people such as Evens from a like to the on macurate estimates by people such as Evens from a like to the on macurate estimates by people such as Evens from a like to the order of the construction of GSWA in 1912 and milk to the order to the transfer of the construction of Mao as 1913 and all fourth and the order of the construction of the order or

As mentioned the discrepancy is partly due to claims that it was not clear how many Flerero there were beine 190+ Some, such as Werner, state that there were 8+000 Flerero in the nineteenth century. 141 while Stoecker notes that there were about 80 000 Flerero and about 80 000 Nama in 1800, 104 The claim that 80 000 Flerero were at the encampment at the battle of the Waterberg has been disputed by those who argue that there would not have been sufficient food and water for such a large group and their cattle. 105 According to Hull, however, there was plenty of gruss and water in 1904, but the Flerero had very nearly depleted all of that by the 1 me of the battle.

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V. Monoamal AV 800) The Brown rehellion on South West Africa: A study in Common common PhD thesis, Los Angeles UCLA, 218.

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14. nkamp\*, AV, 1983) The Flerero rebellion in South West Africa. A study in

Gurra r. menca. - m. PuD thesse. Los Angeles. UCLA, 967.
luo See Brulgman, J. & Worley, L.J. (1997) 'Genocide of the Herero. In Totten, S., Parsons, W. & Charsey, J. (eds)' Century of genucole New York, Garland 3--90, 3

3 928 report by the government of South Man noted that there were at 25 och, 15" while Frizo Treverse claims there were only 6 050 left 154 In 1907 the Rheniah Missionary Society Inspector Johannes Spieker noted in correspondence that it is a shame that the number of Herero went down to 10000 This is due to the inhimitive policy of General von Trotha 69 28,000 Herero " Of course the Herero sopulation would have grown in the 20 years after the war but 28 ( in is still denniation!), Inver than the pre-war (igures)

contradictory counts by the Cerman General Staff in Way, neck man idea dismisses the contradictory guesswork' and argues that the missionaries questioned their predecessors. Herero population estimates of the 1870s. (errea eighty thousind) among themselves and, as to wirewors there are officers, the Colonial Office in Berlin, the Rhenish Missin Society and Despite these tigares, some have attempted to argue that there were many more Herero survivors than generally accepted. As 10, 10 at all Bright La undix ideal interioraries

Although there is also some discrepancy about exactly how many Herero made it through the cesert to Barwain it is generally agreed that those not as your for a small proportion of the difference between the prepost-genecode numbers. In his thesis, Klaus Lorenz argues that the number of Herero in Botawana in 1930 was much higher (6000) than previously accepted

AN W Arrectives commutted on the Herero people during the suppression of their appears in German South West Africa 1804-1807? An analysis of the later accessions igainst Germany and an investigation on the cred of to and Energiapaedia Americana, Val. 14 (1971) New York, 157 Ofted in Nordbruch, C. the figure of the de made for reparation Laptor selvere to the Larupean American Culture Council, Sarramento, \$5 April 2009. Available of bito, www. merchants of artike sacraments

Herem reope during the suppression of their apristing a treatma. South Mess True forth 1-40 Spanish as fille also necessations again to mindow at 1 am App. Ser. 1, a. ted in Oermann, N.O. (1999) Mission, church and state relations in South as See Tra erso. F. Die Mederne, und die Barbanes. Somulatiehe Gertrag, Paper detalered to the European intermentation to test Savianiers of a April The entirer 4000 Quived a Nordanich Court officiales of hatter of the moset gation in the regulative and prefitation of the tenands for reparation Ath the familiant of the wind in the second of the secretarity but it

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and has mee of them must have escaped from GSWA in these. Howeve. length Silvester, Wenner Hillebrecht and Cosper Erichson and Sard his degrated a decrease trug that there were many Level Bermana at when two t According to them, the general According to them, and the case f 6 000 had survived talkethas to be take the accentification as a bour 23 years after the war, the per harmon was a from extreme to more, extremely bate a Maherero male at a Botxwa at though the assert " whe He. he ugo d Gerna arbas a ggeste that any hour Herry makel ig largentiang have more the the member of berge. Our fled to Belying the behavior of the behave the behave the person of the behave the green as your actually stem in Are 1 to a steams the male of the many in Burney in 1888 acting a man, visible has university, and survivors his specific tox a res it we have totally dearroyed the postoral and strictfully man. William and the transfer to the contract that two-interpretation above the and that not been puch i However Report Pe and a later terms. of thousand were kind. An admission or a general transport tells has give by Lie wes . . . sum who in states to time have experient give my thereof of malinet marks — the Lees it was at loss is Cornar solucies by destituted two-thirths of our matter labour, Worse at 1 we pare as yet nem had been cestrown, the there with class that a six all proport in at these By here the Evertuar's themselves reported that of the 15,000 Herena and where an brenth git ago at had fed mater war or any gotter a secondition

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" 11 - 1 motion 18 & Harmon . 1 (1984) The structure of an Africanist postoral compan. A Demograph it lary and ecology of the Ngunitand Herena Oxford Charanter to vol 1 of Londleton believes that 2 000 Herero fled to South Africa People 15 6 no logar representation to a whole a location to terms personal the south the samper of a Champana of the open or an on the who is make a four way a book a digt Children Make I special it the factor of the give Her a rat was to Providence entire

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3 000 Namum the concentration camps, more than half died 178 Ade 16-16 II. a German Igurnalist, who accompanied Colonial Secretary Demberg on a visto USWA in 1968, noted that 'the Herery as a member of a pastoral people are the site we gove to the ment of the transport of the force of the part of the same of the same of the transport white by he the dar

In contrast to the tens of thousands of Herero deaths, other than the German soldiers who died during the war or because at the section 19 white men the work of them chile were led or the

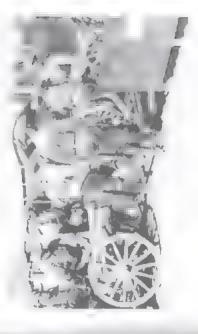
### When did the genocide begin?

A further question academics extensively debate is whether the genocide began before or after the 'order' was given in October 1904. Did the order similar gree formal at the transaction to the course of 19 11 11 and the table of changed thereth. October exist was an a most be some stronger and secmy coment leaders about not to oft a condensation lead who a gains that the 2 October extermination order was Von Trotha's response to the Germans' failure to successfully persecute the Herero, 142 When the German troups arrived at the last known water hole on 29 September they frund few Herero and were unable to get those remaining to turn and fight. You Trotha stead. It were must the there was a his forces were stretched this and he was having difficulty getting supplies to them Jacks and and in the grander for the a little in a recompanion in the laws. But you had all a to the Comment of the a board of the a to be a total The confirmation of they are not the I have a to a bis with a A Dr No on W d

and a total and the tent of resonant to a firm a tim Logica. Sciences, S-9July 2005, Sydney Available at www.cishigdireyyuob There was the transfer of the off trages to mental trakers longer

The Herero tactic was not to face the Germans, but to flee and then tackle - A Vir agery culture and the production of brish someons 10. 8 30. LAMES The CASTREE FILE THE TREE TO GETTING TO GETTING THE GETTING and The operator of genorde mass murder is training but for it, ( ain it go Cambridge University Press, 146.

Although perform thousand reserves to some seasons and historian them on their own terms, a kind of guer thoward that the and the many " whater it for a countrily Controlly I received



froops loading cannons and machine guns on railway cars to transport them rom Wandhock

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the the time and the state of the second sections of the second recording his Treath and to uproper it is a flor or was it I waster ANN ANN But a resurgence of the social core of the Herero population, 11. the state of the s per g and the dail pros go 19 v v as Fast Ver a she of restant a gardions" 85

What is it is not were that no order to exterminate occurred prior to 2 October not been explicitly verbalised, recorded on paper or publicly revealed before October 1904 Despite this, in all likelihood, Von Trotha ensured that his she toes acknowledge that 'Trotha's open statements approving mhumane warfare and his gaisdy trumpeting of the goal of "the destruction of the enemy" created an atmosphere in which soldiers felt that massacre was approved and and at a man and the second to the last the only difference was that a communications understood what was required, whether or not this was officially recorded When Von Trotha commandel the order in written form published even expected the Hence, externanation was already contemplated, - was in Ottiberers, its existence became unequivocal

argues that this does not amount to a deciaration or an order, brutalities were already taking place. Whether this conduct resulted from Von Trotha givier licence to his soldiers to fight with an annuhalatory polsey is unclear in by set too ton Trutha states and terreport and detection when I sate an On 16 July 1804, in his diary entry, Vot. is the referred to the Martin ax non-humans who need not be dealt with ... I What is I went carata ya a crime committed against one's own as a carata

stack with it a least prime as toght wherever a set done that I rough 1 - Trees diary or of a Agree date in bree engetting the never and brigher that is another bare as the product on paster the asymmetry demonstrates his resolve to fight the Herero wherever he found them or drive them across the border. He had already given specific orders on 16 August and 26 August to corden off the water wells. So even before Occober he plotted to black the Herero's access

en there primary to ample we it into a contribution and as a terminal towns of the second sections of the second the south of first the street Ashan, it is a children to the

be killed. As for the 2 October order, despite states in the time of Various accounts, including You Trotha's own diary entries, show intent to reads. They have only the hope for a battle that might go better for them or the ropoless escape ruto the desert." Although this is not incontrovertible proof and although there were statements about not shooting worner and children, his The plan was to force all Herero to flee to the desert. If they did not, they would women and the sick but will chase them after the and the sick but with the gun' eyewithess accounts, such as the one by Jan Kuibas cited earlier in use of the word they does not distinguish between combatants and civilians in the second of the second of a September in the second of the second o this chapter, prove that these were cimpty words

they or we ean't go on A. In were site and a firth of it is On 3 September Von Trotha wrote in his to a vital of the the Herera, even the non-rom - 6 15 12 1 15 1 15 outs of 13 September 1904, where he waste. F. But a the wastern atthe way between warnung and or oliver the transfer of a that I have a shift he waster I have a some rest of et on al back with a line (, on this depression) I he water I was begin at that a chatches as a fact at a set at a Kee Water a street a more water a for a safet a star walker was to take the Such order

1 September 1904, Major Ludwig von Estorff confirmed Von Trothas If AV have at made the black him party

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Schutzbrippe carrying out the shoot-on-sight policy

Con Estarff's words confirm a monitor of therigh. They show that German sudders knew what You Trofin paneted. \*\* They also one stakes to confirm You Truthas represent to purish the Heren to seek total externinance and not just unit it is any detear. They highlight that next You Treas sown people thought his plans were 'grundottie' and sensetiss. You Estorff's words also endorse that vernight-meant annih lation. If it were mere ricture, or military strategy, why would You Trotha's own officer describe as as grandome, and sensetiss?

The most incontrovertible evidence of genocidal intent before the October order relates to the killing of a group of 70 Herero prisoners in the first week of September. An African witness, Hendrik Campbell, who commanded the Baster cust was assisting the Germans. He may the "compassion and told by its menthal they been away and say nevted by the Cerman solcaers.

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and no longer connect your fate with that of the guilty mes. Leeve them and save your life! This I say as representative of your paramount lond, the German Kasser. Ohiolandy, 30 May 1904 (Syd Leutwern) 189

Von Irotha had ordered that al. Herero males be killed even before Waterberg. Why, then, would be want the chains for the warmon? Hull undertunes her own argument about the construction of the stockade solely for the 8 000 warriors by stating that the concentration camps were designed to frustrate the Herero's gwerrille warfare tactics. By detaining the civilian population, those engaged in these tactics were prevented from blending into the population. It is actually whether the stockinde was designed to be a concentration car as set 1 second shely that this is the case, After all, interminent or concentration camps were already in use for this purpose<sup>2018</sup> and had previously been used to the same end fence, Leutwein suspected on even unew, what was in stone for the Herero even before Von Trotha arrived. Yet, on examination of official German war reports and diarres of German soldiers, to Henrik Lundsofte argues that the genocide hat Von Trotha intended genocide at the Waterberg battle. He maintains that women and children were not meant to be killed and cites the fact; hat the Germans prepared a camp for about 8 000 Herero captives as prixif Hull also mentions the hudding of a stockade for 8 000, as well as the ordering of one thousand chans - the number needed for the Herero warriors, we and further notes that plan only cann to fruition after the battle of Waterberg, He contradicts the view by Britain and Spain, 403

While there was corrainly unent to kill all Herero men at Waterberg, the question about the fate of women and children is controversial. Some contend that You Trotha tried to limit the excesses commuted to the men, but it seems that many others were killed as well, even before the order it would

that the Bryce Report, drawn up to consider and advise on the outrages alleged to one.

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appear that the 'order' to spare women and children occurred only after the

Liter that the week a week to hold only 8000 at Waterberg, but it is little to a week a week to a to be a little of a season and the little to a little of a season and the little of a li

A great deal of other evidence conforces the notion that the intent to externinate precedents on an admir the fact that German soldiers were after criterion and to that one processors is used in the very constant to the processor of the process

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# Was the killing of women and children specifically sought?

was ansounced. He perceives this as possible of the perceives the aspect of the perceives the perceive the aspect of the perceive the aspect of the perceive the perceive the perceive the perceive the perceive the aspect of the perceive the perceiv might have drawn criticism, which necess tains as bitum to set to garac Superficially, Von Trethas orders regarding the treatment of women and shall not catch women and the sick but I will chase them after their chiefs or will kil them with the guz. The section addressed to the German troops seates that 'shooting at women and children in to be understood as shooting alwaye their heads, so as to force them to min [away] I assume absolutely that this proclamation will not degenerate nto atrocines against women and At first plance this might and then a strong and and a fine when were they are merch the and that they do els an about gat women and children. According to Wallenkampf, the second part of the order (that communicated to the troops) was only issued a day after the tire part children seems to be inconsistent 1 x 2 October order to the Horiero states. 3 children The latter will run away if one su us et in a she die et e

men, women and children, though Trotha had ostensibly forbacter his sections to the comments to the trigues that German soldiers were ordered to struct to the an others from a women and chikings, to drive them and the dear that a new researched by the gun or by deprivation does not change the statent and he undermines has own argument by stating that further contradicts himself by adding that as was the case at the batt -Waterberg German warfare did not make any distinction between on his s Lundtofte acknowledges that 'there is no doubt that German forces murdered is the stream and children While men were liquidated in contracting nut were to would not appear to have been the appear to systematically driving them from the water holes was an effort to extern ... then Is ALM WHITE SE



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pure a come at the rengga also pure as the content of the content to the eshelice. It is presented and the personal pure ordered decisive action. The genousle was already underway, so the order did not set the process in motion it merely publicised it into a specific and direct command for the troops.

This goes from mean the class, so working was lithright to these easers. It was the mork it can be the Reservity that they seem to mean the little the control of the seems to flee into the desert, seeming the same purpose but saving the German soldiers the effort of acovely killing them and perhaps thank less damage to their reputation.

The same applies to the additional section of the order read to the German troops. Although it same as not to protect them but to sear. But the relations as not to protect them but to sear. But the relations of the good reputation of the Germans would not appear directly responsible for the ensuing deaths. When Von Trotha instructs the troops to remain conscious of the good reputation of the German soldier, it merely implied institute the action of the definition with the knowledge that the same and a search of the case of a children with the knowledge that the same and a search of the case of the case of the soldiers to the soldiers to the wind it are a soldiers to the soldiers.

Convergently the additional section of the order read to the troops was not because of Samunary control over the subdiers, they were expected to shoot anyone who did not flee. Expulsion was the primary objective, but killing a mid suffice. This is clear from Yon Trotha's letter to the Chief of the General Staff that he included with a copy of the order on 4 October.

For me it is merrly a question of how to end the user with the Fibrara. My opinion is completely opposite to that of the Covernor and some 'old Affirians'. They have nasted for egolotic far a long time and describe the Herera values as a necessary isome for egolotic far a long time social eventual processor the fitters are of the colony. I on of an entirely affected opinion. I believe that the nation must be destroyed as such or since this was not possible using tactile hown, it must be expetited from the tond operatively and by means of detailed

Gert Suchols provides a much narrower and problematic interpretation, we that the extremination order was simply propagated Sudholt, G. (1953) Die deutsche Empharzanpolitie in Sudweitsfrika. Fan den Anflängen his 1904. Ellidesheim/ New York (Dins.

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he me, a record and editation, who are moutly the, a me or record troops and taking care of them impossible. Therefore, I think it bet me period mither than infect our troops and uffert any water and food

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children then clubbed them to death to help them die<sup>210</sup> Events on the ground contradict Von Trothas supposed order that women and children were to be spared those who were shot or bayoneted were left is surface. Testimony also reveals that Von Trotha urdered women and however, a killed on occasion, including one specific occasion when he ordered a young Herero woman to be bayoneted <sup>22</sup>

The multiple kullings occurred in 1804 from the time the Germans went on the offensive against the Herero and particularly after the extermination order was issued. However, the kulling of women und the text in a second in the Even before that time, for example at the Massagne at Hornkrant, a second earlier, women and children had been killed. At a minimum, the government supported these actions, they may even have ordered them

#### Conclusion

and they taken the the tent of the state of the shown S articumilials and to show has a distanction was made between The brutality of the German colonisers was not confined to GSWA and predates, the Herero-German war. Reports from German bass Africa, Samoa and New Guines textify to widespread corporal punishment rape BICH I'ES I'M GENERAL THE HERE WAS CLAFTS REEDED, Ordered and mer the brough brough how its his given as as a causing them to To be a terretown forther one a winest storming out the By Eppert in that the appeal the state of the time of the section in the section of the section the are offers I be leaved by set or wealth the willings and effor a of dense service to use the ext. It was that a property from a or the grow and you leading har ex corrass to a north a north a north a north and to, word toundiff it was more por treal thetoric or psychological warrance strangy Inpate, there is sufficient evidence to show that the generical transity il was rear hones to lone at a manerous records show that we see so lovered to ... Herery e to at the hands of the Germans. the a received the Metaber order by Proths was one of the mamera a spite a perticual official attempts at we allows bressing

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#### CHAPTER THREE

# DID THE KAISER ORDER THE GENOCIDE?

A common goal of all researchers is to piece together who ondered the hillings to new any green was. If in the twentien century these mass nowaen sore in exponentially anathoned, who made decisions? If has some the control of the c

Let no German ever forget this, nor rest until these paraviles have been susped out in the second out of the second out

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#### Introduction

The role of has see W. has a bare line. We as let her as More let he line lines as the season over the years. Most people do not believe that the Kauser gave the order

ly, R. & Kiernan, B. (2003) "The study of mass murder and genochia

R. & Kiernan, B. (eds) The species of genoride mass murder in a reserve to the compact of the study breast, 10

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occurred On 1 December 1906, August Bobel, ar opposition Member of to Gravezi von Trotha 3 Others, however, have speculated whether the Kasser was behind the order. Even at the time of the grancide, such conjecture s'actionient in the Reichstog, stated;

received vecret instructions as to how he was to proceed in South West Africa, I find no other explanation for the fact thanks, a general, ordered an men to disregard I don't know whether Herr Fox Trotha acted on his own or according to a similar riogun to the one made in 1900. Take no quartes, behave so that na Chinese will dare to look askance at a German for a 1 000 years ... Herr Fon Trotha must haw order of the plant of the total total the se allow

Furthermore, Von Trothas order was very samilar to the one the Kaiser gave in relation to China its 1900 (discussed later). At the time, Von Trotha was the N. T. SENT THE BITST AND HE EXPLISE - BUT DE ESSUE, BY SATE FROM THE Bebel was convaced that the Kaiser gave Von Trotha a secret order capacity that he came to the attention of the Kassey," Thure is a passe its that weathe Von Trotha knew of the Nalser's order in China a man have mken the march to any mention structure, means about men in ingress the construction of the mental and the mental and the mental in the contract of the contract of

believed that the order came from Berlin. In September 1905, the Cape Argus newspaper reported that South African transport riders noted, on their return extermination order came from the Kauser The diary of Major Shihbaan of the German forces, who fought at the Waterberg buttle, contains the following orry The History was to be gradually seeping hach the their section In addition to Bebel, there were others at the time who also believed the of the bloody decree of Von Trotha, emanating from Balin that all men he shot and all women and children driven from the land. 6 Stuhlmann clearly

R. Platt, K. (eds). General and Moderne Bd a. Strukturen kollektroer General im 20. See for example Cirtinder H 1998) General oder Zwangsmoderauserung? Der Library or (Any 30 Each & By Martin

If II are a that no generate or even a few adution' was ordered from Berlin the in The example of Withelmatan German of Goods, Raberta B . A) The species of generale man mander in historia fe fin - can inge that A statement culture and the pools of 1 at 1 as 1 he

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M.A. thesis (History) Windhoek University of Mornibia, 288

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Although Bebel surmised that the Kaiser must have given an order similar to from GSWA, that German soldiers usually gave the same ratio and the when of the transfer and the tender has frequently and the and could mean one of two things, either that they believed all orders as the from the basser or that they knew the basser gave the specific order in this case. Therefore, at the time there was tranjecture that You Trotha did not act alone the one in his Hun speech, that outburst had sened as a lesson at the time, which called for more discretion in order to protect his reputation and that of Cermany For this reason, the role of the Kaiser is inder continued debate

The primary question explored in this chapter is the origin of the infamous where the state of the contract of the state of the general cated as a by the from fame. Without I and that it was probably the state of the state order, the absence of concrete proof should be seen in the context of the regorous efforts to protect the mage of the Kaiser over the years during which he reigned and in the decades thereafter. This chapter will also argue that the people in the highest levels of government and the military knew about the order, but did nothing to stop the carnage until the pressure became too intense to avoid it international concern was the promary reason for amending the genousle order and evidence will show that CHEST AS CONSTRUCTION OF THE CARLO LAND

treatment in the transment to the the same and the doctor in the member of the War of the members of the in-The the reason of the wing that the Kalser directly and personally ed this words and actions during and after his rule. Thus, a written order would not likely have survived Robb Chimmates the consequences of this This mentality has, needless to say, gravely affected the availability of evidence down to the present day, not least because, in addition, so much of what was being reserved until after the Kaiser's death was destroyed in the decision of the Second World War B Rabl is refereng to the destruction of rearchives relating to the color a mass works at the axims and We still that was a server the given all that was done to sanitise and

Cape Argus, 26 September 1905 Quoted in Erichson, C.W. (2004) The Angel of Death has dexeeded violently among them. A study of Namibia's concentration camps 1 , hoek Upsversity of V M M MIL DON BY Age of the

is (1 993) The hunser and his court. Wilhelm II and the government of Sole, T.E. (1968, December) "The Sudwestafritta Benkinungs and the South West ... Care ridge Cambridge University Press, 27

il. Il . " . " . " . " culture and practices of war in Imperial " . + 12 . History Journal, 19-45. 20 Germany Ithaya Cornell University Press, 13

evidence. The original dary of General von Trotha was supposedly fost too,

yet de explored below a 1990s typed version survived ( ) on the sources, both legal and instituted, base 1 hour theorem of the sources of the sources of the source of the

Whether Germany takes responsibility, beyond a mere apology, for what occurred more than a century ago seems to depend on the role of the Raiser and, by extension, that of the German government, sepecifically whether by a left, was secure. The way was the contract of the left of th

Regardless of whether there was a direct order from the Kauser, Germany is complicit in the killing of the Herero because they neglected to act when they found out what was happening. Even after the Cerman government became aware of You Trotha's exturns and the Social Democrats criticised the Secule revents in the Rachang. You Trotha received their support. This is reflected in the statements of Governor Leutwein who, when raising the issue of the externanation order with the German Foreign Offlice, was answered that you Trotha alone had authority to dea with the natives 14 Thus, althought Leutwein specifically brought the occurrences in GSWA in their attention, the German Foreign Office rold him to leave muitary matters to Yon Tyotha. In fact, the words

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The case of the bear and the control of the bear and the control of the bear and the control of the Electron Los Angeles University of Cabiorna.

of the Chief of the Army General Staff demonstrate acceptance of the order Ira. November 1904, he told the Chancellor. His [You Trothas] plans to wipeout the voter mitton or to drive them out of the country are threeting with our approvation. It is not to the state of the state

condoming the acts and therefore acted as a ratification of what occurred. In lact, Vin Protha hand since Que of service or or or or bears A WELL SHEW SELLS AND SHELLING THE TANK WHEN CORRECTION TO THE TANK A THE AND A THE ACTUAL WAS INTERESTED BY THE BOARD by that may write and the stand pecanical per that the en an engarant reference to angest on whether there was an the way a star in few man I the man to be a part to Share that the set of the bright he facilities the contribute a sound dream and a drew-to to as the tree man to a reg OF TAND A STOOT OF A CONCURS OF A PORT MANDER AND MET TO CO. but twelffer or thell " It to the Top and the new or to be the site of It. we lost a links on a metal of a season of a season of of treed of the 18 to the notation of the standard of the standard allections of the fail to petern now to some of the action where he retire that the second and the have in make the gow the traduction to be a little where the trade the terms that that it interstand were to dear logal I there has a white to the or traffit the bearing to take it is it the timesticans on a contract the about in San in a time Been to be written than in dillion to an the have gen they Tooks the man a consistent with year a the soft of the tent of the te

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### The Kaiser's personality

According to Jonathan Steinberg, the brassers personal to wassers at safety certonia of what occurred in Germany ander not vigor. — him lard to personal ty was critical to the events in GSWA, expectally the way in which Germany waged the campaign against the Herero General scritiments about the Baker are not positive. Thorana A Kohat notes at the beginning of his book that Waltern II was not a particularly piersant person who survenided humself with other not particularly pressant persone Anc he was the leader of a nation in which aggressive maintuilism, importalism, radsus oncil a rationary and sevien were prevalent. A number of factors linked to his birth and childhood even to have influenced his personality.

- Avendt, H. (1903) Extensions in servisitem. A report on the boundity of each New York, Viking Press, 240 Quoted in Wollhaemper, A (2005, 10k) Concurrence between individual responsibility and state responsibility in international law. 68(3) In
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The relationship between the Kaiser and the charcollor is a key factor in why the Kauser might have wanted to keep his order to Von Trotha a secret in 1900, Chancellor you Billow stated that if the Kaiser made one more bad awaye, a coatmon of German princes and the Rechitag would have him declared anfit to remain in his position.24 This likely had an enduring effect in the en arometry to some and the resemble later which is and he that he was given ill has tell the site ofthe stand behind and apported the Kamer However, Philip zu Eulenburg, one of the Kaiser's closest advisors, wrote to Von Balnw in 1903 that the Kaiser had a 'maxture of respect and unxiety' about the Chancellor 34 On various occasions between 1899 and ta there is and in pullice of our py is as the board to the cape previously. caused him to keep the order secret, and that the Charles had Ger, William Sand 38 center ver with change fulle

THE PERSON NAMED IN A RESIDENCE OF THE PARTY AND PARTY AND THE PARTY AND ASSESSED. st. 11 states are the filler of the case of shares the see but to a gride the second was a the contracting by the man hard with the and a least of the professional that if we in a three to me and the remaining to make when he was great is the contract of a good by good after a to the sale of the contract of the sale of a th harrer " I a harse to treated Dale Macun coll Russia is the party

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12 a. S.C.G. (1994) The Kurser and his courts Wilhelm II and the generament of Germony, Cambridge Cambridge University Press, 15.

ind on another occasion, best up the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha 58 He also exatence colence a number of times, including towards how it it. No be thresholder at tree on that as at Person I a Sattern great a total lists house the fermi

the state of the state of the state of the state of forces ought to conduct generale German soldiers, throughout the Kanser's to be not a form of the orbits of the form of the form of the rapest to a large way of the way that a we have by a to the first borrer is a sure the feat of M. bld between a good last it is so the out 11 1 10 1 10 12 16 10 10 11 11 12 4 13 14 15 15 15 16 18 a her her meter of box in the entire a himser related the North plane is the same the same Hala In is very relevant to occurrences in GSWA because it is its raise ... \*- boter was not the only case in which the hasser thought that ( -- p where the transfer and the end of World War Lywhen there was white year has not a blaser for war tribus, especially have a In the Anner Stand Selectes that much of what the Kaiser said was

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mere by the but he notes that the tone which he set had a profound effect on the army and the treman forces often indowes the approach he sought and this set the standard for the arms

way, come a hasely to a particular course of action based on very, tile information. "He regentedly adopted the views of the jast people he speke to frequently responder to the sister of his subjects." At the same time he tree outs attempted in Burrer yeld, you a Ofton the Kaiser on a particular subject, which may also have affected his ciews in what in de-Staff and other members of the military told him and, crucially, to what he was trail is the GSM Vactuers who came to Beeth to longers, implantes betorething One of these visits, in mid-1904, coincided with the time he might have given the generale order to Von Trotha (as discussed later). Hence, it is possible that the Kaiser, having believed the accining effle settlers that the Merena were fighting a race war and mutilating the captured Germans may have given the Publy opmon greatly affected the Kasser, as he craved approval Ho in GSWA. Thus, he may have reacted to what he read, to what the Genera

Worms for his work backer reveived the highest award in a chropology The hasser made many intemperate and variety-section, scattering the uses mede rappet values and believed in externocation A mumber of other races deeped africa Count Joseph Arrhur de Cretim an intronuced warned of the dangers of race mixing and called for racial purity. Germans The purported aunilarities between Neanderthals and races from Arrea and eisewhere, had gazu dwills recognition by the ribot 90% at the time of the rebed in an GSM 1 Fagen Fischer president of the latermational bound for Rac al Elygerse in Frederig como ambietea resonaço in OSANA. He exala med me nonce of various races and bound similarities between Negaderibals and thican races. He presented his work at a congress of anthropologists at specialism at gave impetus to these railst cleas towards black Africans a d the notion of the superiority of the horrings and the publishen the again generally received his theories well and bought many copies of his books?

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the I are Hilliam II to, II Emperor and a store at Charlet I'll CANTON AN INTERNATIONAL PROPERTY.

Count Waldersee recorded one of the earliest in his chary entry of 17 Jahuary 1866. He noted that the Kaiser had a great dislike for Jewish people 5° Waldersee wrote this entry vears before his relationship with the Kaiser sourced. Already 17 Issis the Kaiser sourced. Already 17 Issis the Kaiser sourced. Already 17 Issis the Kaiser sourced. Already 18 Issis that the Table and Four semple is believed in the full effection and the Jewis Would it not follow that if he believed in the exterimation of the Jewis and Pair Actor material in waste gars by Congern R. Oct. Thompston of the Jewish.

The hanser requestrily wrote letters, before and after his abdreation, in which he warned of a Jewish world conspiracy. He referred to Jewish people as parasites and called for their annihilation. In 1907, the Kasser wrote that the lews need stamping out <sup>28</sup> On a December 1919 he roted in a letter to to the manifestation.

The lowest, most abject outrage ever to be perpetrated by any vation in history, that is what the Cermans base done unto themselves Egged on mitled by the—in of Juda whom hey hate, who were guests among them? That was the thanks they gut! Led no Germans every forget this, nor rest watti those paraites have been suped out from German tool and been externinated! This possonous machineous on the German and-treet.

Discovering this statement, Röhl wrote, Tbegan to dread, the moment, which seems to be approaching with akreasing certainty, when I would discover the unspeakable And sure enough before long I discovered [16]. In 1919\*\*\* Furthermore the above statement from the Kaiser was no abscration. In 1927 He Kaiser wrote a letter, in English, to an American friend, in which he said author's employee.

The Hobrew race, are my most involvente enemies at home and abroad, they remain what they are and always were, the forgers of thes and the mantermined governing wirel, revolution, upheaved by sprading ingeny with the help of their poisosted, caustic, astronoi for fig. Spiril, the world wakes up it should more out to them the punishment in store for them, which they deserve 2s.

si Kitchen, M. (1968). The German Officer Corps 1890-1914. Oxford. Clarendon from 80.

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those who crossed him would lead out to higher the the season annequivocasty advocated the exterts at a 17 of a side as a 14 I Billy Este of the mell, tolketer that the server and to the Thorne The Kaiser's hypersenativity to orticisms, and desire for revenge agains? with the standard on the line of the transition of the standard of the All the part of the field of the trade to the field of the state of the At the state of the an early we harger " When a 1008 South 15 5 1. Bak polither and he of he had a dienes 1 to 5 he has teller terminial to be possiblini reported me the traction of the distriction of the overally of the the same party of the are a new transfer or a second state the frame of the party to the it is in all the gale believed that a successful mission would have enhanced Germany's national Cotto is a threat to be at perite specification to transport to be prede 36 Similarly, he perceived the events in GSWA (1) = 1 to 10 to 14 to 14 Par No the telephone grown I the farm of the parts of and on a said the responsible mades was

the second many and the second and the exacting revenge to a second many and second many was a constant for exacting revenge and deservey behang followed by develope to second many exacts for the form of the second many exacts for the form of the second many exacts for the second many exact

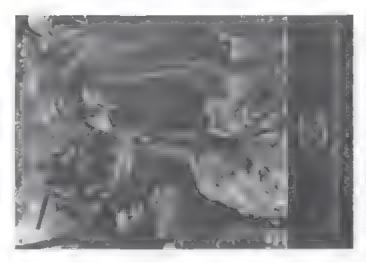
As revenge was a prime motivating factor in the Herero massacre, ordering the genousle of the Herero would have been within his character.

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Reserved to The Rasser and his court Withelm II and the government of



A postcard of Kaiser Wilhelm II with a campon firing in the background

## The debate about the role of the hauser: was he the decianor-maker or was he a shadow Emperor?

The role of the ser William II during his years as monarch (1888-1918) has been subject to vigorous deliate. On the one hand, some argue that he was merely a silhouette of a ruler who thad little real power and whatever public pronouncements he made were likely agnored by those in authority in the rate in the maltary John Rohl argued early on that the Kaiser was never more than a Schatterbaiser—— a shadow emperor without

say or 8 guidrance in Gerria affars "3 bet in the later work, Rdh, nores respects supply the many man Character as the depreniate eyers see of Prover relations was reased agreement monarchard by men which the barser are his cour errier than the Chancellor and we near their sed acht al power and charson traking nuthority and this into new the the state of the s also ango that he had a moust rule in the Katserrene, which afforded him repeated observation that all policy, foreign and internal, stems from the vid hat the new arches from the entral passions on the State on and, in many white central. In 1997 he what I harhe comes of the teams a new system and word of the Katser No Entarce of a secutive times over had so much a committee of the property of the contract of which the ordered was done the at the time breef brings were a price to an tie many haiser demarate about the growth of personal sase of an the new poor of this lact for the complants of the pure meeting but are based on the resignments the haster has noted the does not necessary every ming he wants, has not been the many wanted to a red proside in the anotherd the fast century whose ruche years cented with the determs of a Commit mp the crabet with more power the barsers himse than even Bushinessa there is no stronger force than the Kaiser The very recolation of the seri IL NACASA P.

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there was no obaget asyone shoulg chodign to take how the fine maintenance when the man of the knaser appropriate splayed a lesser role in policy formation, but this was not always the case. In certain areas, he set specific policies and directed the implementation of decisions, such as those relating to the estublishment of a fleet <sup>77</sup> As Jan-Bart Gewald has noted, 'unitially Kaiser Wilhelm II hegan.

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The despite checks and balances, the Kaiser slowly assumed greater powers and on several occasions, his pronouncements were carried out in part, this was possible because he autrounded himself and appointed people and some of the part of the part of the property of the part of the

### The Kanser and the military

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Show Was a brace Wildling of the creek in the control of the control of the first the control of the control of

In another letter, written in 1901, he staked to his uncle, king Edward VII, who was on the British throne from 1901 to 1910. If am the sole arbiter and master German Foreign Policy and the Government and Country must follow me, even if I have to face the musif[sat,]!"\*\*So much opposition motined to the military in the Receiving that the army intempted to remove usiters objects them from from this body. They regarded this as an easy accomplishment because they considered the mi itary under the control of the Kaiser, not under the Number of Weir P.

The Kasser's role in the imilitary derives from 1867 when the Emperor, no King of Prussia, obtained the position of both commander—in-cheef of the army and pressitential head—aske, the Femeror became Supreme Commander—of all the Empire's land forces in peace and war. <sup>38</sup> Another article in the Constitution permitted him to determine the strength of the army <sup>38</sup> Despite sincial relaxitonese, the government supported these practices <sup>100</sup> Rohl points out the Kaiser's most important constitutional right was his right to appoint persons to government, bureaucracy and, crucially, the militar. — As as agreed to Howard, officers stood to their soveregen or a special relationship of quasificiated logalty very different from the normal, obedience and by the cruzent to the head of the state interference with the naturnal affairs of the anned household—of which the army was virtually an extension; <sup>108</sup>

Generally, academic discourse on the role of Kaiser Wilhelm holds that he lighted in additional discourse the role of Kaiser Wilhelm holds that he lighted in the case of the second of the second of the role in the case of the second of the role in the second of the se

The Kaiser's record of brutality

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  Material progress and world wide problems 1870-1898. Cambridge: Cambridge
  University Press. 18. 10.

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indicates that brutality was not an aberration, nor the policy directed only wayward military leader that a systemate, government policy directed and the second of the se

The hauser's directives are clearly evident in a number of events. His notionious Run speech, addressing the German soldiers on their way to Chana in 1900, provides an example of his gory statements. In this speech, he said (author's emphas.)

The traks which the needy established German Empire has to maderishe averages at the more onerous staded than many of my countrymen have expected. The German Empire has a proper of a realized day to protect its clitical nass for a software that that the base downstance is that difficulties abroad. Its means of laining this is one or may. Tour considers in the nays days afrocally about the test, they have demonstrated to you that our staining its based on somethy days down the test, they have demonstrated to you that our staining its based on somethy days are in rem.

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sas ( ... , ... , ... , ... may the blessing of God go with your each one the road for culture once and for all 104

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Carming the kas was someoned to the termine present to Astrongs the kas was someoned to the his white safe was every any source and the white safe to the termine according to the white safe to the termine accepted norths out away goard in was conder. The haiser or the other hand are nor regard this type of an fare as prolisement. He was condered what it was and demastically account of the same and demastically account of the same and demastically in the consecution of this speed in the most and demastical think is a prolisement of the same of the part of the termine the same and demastically in the same and the speed in the most and the same of the same of the speed of the same of the same of the speed of the speed of the same of the speed of the same of the speed of the speed of the speed of the speed of the same of the speed o

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goals 'if necessary, with the most brutal ruthlessness and that they ought not spare the 'mailed fist' '12 Whittle notes that by 1900 four bulky volumes of Imperial speeches had already been printed, many of them harmful to the Kanser and Germann' '11 In one such speech, the Kanser strated, 'You have sworn loyalty to me. You have only one ententy and that is my enemy. In the presents social confusion it may come about that I order you to shoot down your relations, brothers or parents, but even then you must follow my orders without a minima.

reveal the extent to which it was strained on other occasions.) Accordingly, this may have led the Kauser to ask Von Trotha to keep the details of his Count Wakursee without consulting the Chancellor Additionally, it seems about this that he resigned from office, at which time You Billow replaced involvement in GSWA secret. He would not have wanted the Chancellor to know, as the constitutionality of whose domain - the Kaiser's or the Chancellors -- events in GSWA were under, was questionable The Kaiser in the have the girt that the Charlest work bave of other upon real sing the state best two mer lie sector Chimelor, separt et. were The Katser did far more than simply give volatile speeches. He was responsible for many senior appointments, including personally appointing as if the Kaiser and Von Bülow were in control of the German forces during the Boxer Rebellton. The Chancellor at the time, Hohenlohe, was so upset un. At that stage the Katser's relationahip with Von Billow was positive, but it later soured significantly in his memours, the Kaiser admitted that he gave up his personal relationship with the Chancellor in 1908,110 (He uses not employed and pressed the Kaiser to rescind the exterming or and with his eventua, ly clid, some months later

During World War I, some ten years after the genoride in GSWA, the Kaiser continued to order that German forces take no prisoners 11. An example of his willingness to direct brutality indiscriminately, including against women and

children, is evident carly on in the war when he wrote to Austrian Kaiser Franz Joseph that

everything must be put to fire and sword, man, women and children and old mea anost be slongistered used not a tree or house left standing. "There" methats of terrotein [wolf terminate the war in two mouths, white considerations of humanity "will nanecessarily protong the stringgle;" <sup>116</sup> the control of the same steps ten years earlier against black of the control of the same steps ten years earlier against black of the control of the Revent in the same replicated the starting of the Revent in the control of the Revent in the same prisoners of war the control of the wanted to starve about the control of the warders, so the same of the control of th

While some have posited that the Lauser's outbursts were ignored and that he did not control the German forces, the troops did indeed frequently heed his call. The following extract from a German solder's report from China belies the argument that the Kaiser's order's were ignored.

I tell you only this, you can not imagine what hippens over here. You should have seen how over entered the city after orchronis arrangele. Everyone we met vous chi down, men, women, etidden (II), how the women screemed. But the hausers order way parion will not be given. If e have sworm fullithens and obetience and was have to keep our only tell.

These deutoustrations of alligrance to the Kaiser were commonplace. Even the Supreme Commander for the Albed forces, Count Waldersee, was an acoust

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### The role of the Natser in the colonies

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right to replace civilian control with that of the minarion in prosperior The Kaiser, in fact, had more power to direct policy and in start activity in a seek the after our days a part of as every to the platfact activities the car we'rean he did at home. According to Hall, he not the constitutional r the character pattern in conserge carly and divided

and the haiser nominated all in morners in the Colempiate with the department (Kolomal-Alberleng) to manage colon a affa is this quart new When the Kaiser replaced Chancedor Bismanck with Graf von Caprivi in 1850,195 the first task he gave the new Chancellor was to establish a new would be answerable to the Chancellor, except or natters regarding foreign relations. That same year, the Colonial Count. however was established guidance from the Colonal Council. The Kasser even played a significant role in governing GSWA. There was in an Advisory Council of 40 people - 20 elected and 20 nominated by the governor - and, crucially, the Kasser appeanted the governor 123 During the 30 years of German rule, East Africa and Togo had eight governors, Cameroon seven and GSWA ax. 146

The harser also ithribyed himself in putting down rebellions in the colonies In Cameroon, in 1825, the Kauer sent troops to deal with an insurrection 197 When there was no result in dealing with the rebellion in East Africa, the Kaiser sent two crusers and 150 marines 186 The manner in which the rebellious police officers, employed by the Germans, were dealt with - summary execution formed part of a general pattern of dealing with resistance in most German colonies

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Cambridge University Press, 136

## The haiser and German South West Africa

Even before the events of .904, the Kaiser was directly involved in determining governance in GSWA. In January .888, he sent 21 souliers, disguised as - A straight to to the San in a San Governor Leathwell, in a letter to explorers, under Captain Kurt von Francois to GSWA to ensure a military to go to GSWA 14 In 1893, he ordered the manufacture of a copy of a cross the track of the task of the Diogo Can had placed though of Swakopmand presence 199 In 1890, he addressed a contingent of soldiers leaving Cermany Heavil W. Hear States

11 sum presence herr prows is Major von François was recalled to Germany and m has blaze Has Majesty the German Kanser has sent me with specific unders to carry on the war to your destruction, unless you surrender I do not know you and I have no personal enruly against you at all, but shall of course earry out my orders and fight you to the death 142

When set I have been the was to be true to be haven A The selection of the distriction of the fight that lay, to it was keep to be a way warsted up the outcome of the conflax. the hance of a resectantly speaks of the contraction to the following of course, he an asolated example. Or it could be merely a way of enhancing the and the transfer of the transf in the process of the nervention of the Graveral Staff and Leutwein made it that the had direct orders from the Kaiser This could, the sal nature of the directive by involuting the name of Kaiser Yet as shoes the tree gray as addone to the Bear bear for at a William

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and, hence, the Kaiser likely was involved in the extermination order. In addition, the Kaisers agrature on a peace treaty created by Leutwein and the Nama is further evidence of his involvement in GSWA even though he sporter spining it for about a year. Already, the settler committee the terms of the peace agreement too ienient and objected vortient in the investigation in the weither community played a significance in the war and the extermination.

As mentioned above, the Kasser took a keen interest in rehellows in all German territories, but especially in GSWA. Prior to the Herero rebelious, when the Bondelswartz rose up in 1963, the Kasser's reaction was "loud and violent," if Furthermore, the Kaiser, as a result of settler complaints, perceived Governor Leutwents attitude towards the locals, alkbough not always as benevelent as sometimes portrayed, as too lenent. The settler community processured Leutwent to take extreme measures, they published articles and wrose to the Government in Berlin demanding stern steps, including the intal externation of some groups.

Some have argued that the Kaiser was not the sole masternum of the malitary campingus in GSWA, but that severa. German departments were molecular planning the colonial wart<sup>157</sup>. Yet he indeed Court George von Stillfred and Rattonita to draw up a secret report on GSWA and the Herero question. Direchster notes that it provides evidence that the Kaiser, circumventing all uses into each of the control of the secret was only as a good of the level of the secret of the record was a variety of into about to hat a good of the twen only the court and secret of the record secret of into about to hat a good of the twen only the court and secret of the record secret of the record secret of the record of

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It have took if the least the most of the mile and and the the The Color of the state of the state of the doctor New Work and the County of the Resident of the County of t new trains also tree a may request on the developments in GSWA. Acris the race to be added that the rest becommended that Gordon to the factor of the second to confine the land of My was of the to the total and some a larm in the total . YEAR A POST OF ICS MEMBERS WERE MINISTY Officers, government the way and the states access to would have given them greater access to the houser we se strain to the title to the title to the title that a ledge to all 5M barry satisfactions of a value activity haster LA TERRESPONDED OF CHARLES HITTORY OF THE BY THE REAL In with a man was a state of the common a perior to the after the ways orders. The German Colonial Society financed the settlers trip and facilitated and the state of the form of the state of th of the Santers of repliess is a part to actual lange at the same time that General von Trotha arrived in GSW 1 and means. their meeting with the Kaiser 15x

The haiser was committed to the settlement of GSWA by German settlers and went out of his way to promote this sentire. Erechsen notes. Indeed on the exact day of the attack on the Waterberg, Raiser Wilhelm II launched a new programme that sought to attract settlers to the colory by providing kinds for larger surveyord, from the solic hard for the colory by providing kinds for larger with the solic hard for the colory by providing kinds for larger with the colory by providing kinds for larger with the colory by providing kinds for the colory by the colory by the colory by the colors of the colory by the colors of the colors

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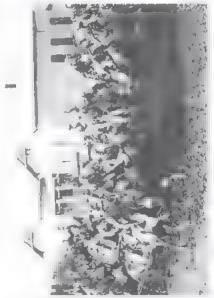
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dispositions, terrain etc. and about the merference in what he believed was

purely a military matter. Soon after the Windluck directed Soon after the wor broke out, Berlin, rather than Windluck directed operations <sup>163</sup> The Kaiser took charge and directed the War Office, the Naval Office and the General Staff in the conduct of the war <sup>163</sup> He ordered that the set, That we start the state of the Soon of the Soon of the state of

Governor Leutwein's position was in further peopardy when he signed a treaty the Peace of Kalkfontein with the Bondelswartz on 97 Januarion 1 in 4 not clear whether he acted on his own or was pressurated by Billian in the was consequently subjected to a volley of abuse from the white so there is a vertible pognor mood. MR Because of the regular was times the transmission of the regular was times that it is a least at the second of the settlers and the second of the settlers and the second of the settlers and the settlers are settlers and the settlers and the settlers and the settlers are settlers and the settlers and the settlers are settlers and the settlers and the settlers are settlers and the settlers are settlers and the settlers and the settlers and the settlers are settlers are settlers and the settlers are settlers are settlers are settlers are settlers and the settlers are settlers are settlers are settlers and the settlers are se

On 8 February 1904, three days before Leutwein returned to Windbock, the Kaiser ordered that nenceforth the Censeral Staff and General Array, van Schlieffen would control the troops and the conduct of the war. The Colonial Department attempted, Jusuccessfully, to have the War Manistry centrol the war liel Placing the conduct of the war under the General Staff ensured that the Kaiser controlled the methodology, the policies employed and the decisions about which units to deploy <sup>170</sup> The state of emergency, which

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directive from the Katser. Without a state of emergency, the colour would have not a control of the Chaucellor and the oversight of the Reclaing Have control of the Chaucellor and the oversight of the Reclaings Have control thus, the Katser While Leutwein was still the gavernor to have a more of the Coloural Department to forbut a control of the coloural and suggest that he has a control of the control of the coloural colou

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GSWA was so important to Germany that, when the opt with the furthing basinged to block the budgeting of resources for inconstruction of another railway line in the territory in 1906, Germany, Mr., for elections. These elections organized how has the Hortemory of the star of the data of the first time the Reichidogollocked the along a secretary, the Reichidogollocked the along Secretary, the Reichidogollocked the second of the second of the collection of the second of the s

Bultour M (1984) The Kauer and his times Boston Houghton Mifflin, 205

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territory during the war and long after, in the hope of securing ground German settlement. In 19 O, expenses reached 32 million marks, where was only 13 million marks 178 Thus, the Rechsiag played a determining role events cannot be simply the researce of 1311. Itary culture While the Renchifage in decision-making for GSWA. Therefore, the gain of all the live, and did not always determine poli v. .t continually granted increased resources. " e a l duning the war

Even before the 1907 elections, which addressed the polities in the colonies, the Reachstag debates preceding those elections (28 November to + Devember 806] centred on the budget for GSWA, part of which would go to the rampaign (75%) and the rest on the ris ways . I'm oppose was parties attacked the military policy and questioned the associated expenditure. The the answers of the hansen and argued that it was not the role of the Reaching Government and other political parties saw this attack as an intersevence with to december in course of the war or the manner in which it was fought 170 provisions that allowed the Kaiser and the military power and I music in Late the their in the Reschilds supported the budgetary allocations and ferral actions is the celes and there we are my to betge n conducting their compaign. In the end, the Here, was was the nost expensive. war undertaken by Germany before World War! The Rescholog sanctioned the cost, as well as the reparations paid to the German settlers who suffered losses during the war

## Did the Kaiser appoint General von Trotha?

Many have argued that the Head of the War Cabinet, Graf Halsen-Haeseler, with the support of the Kaiser, insisted on appeausing Von Trotha to quell the Herero uprising. This view relies on a report at the time in a German newspaper, Der Reichshofe.180 Yet, it seens that the Kasser played a more direct role than stuply supporting the nomination. According to Biey, the Kaiser decided on Von Trutha 181 Likewise, Silvester and Gewalt maintain ins Prein, P (1894) 'Guns and top hatts: African resustance in German South West Crether, G.D. 10.8) The German electrons of 1802 New York Columbia University Africa 1907-1915 20(1) Journal of African Studies, 89-121, 102, fn .8 Press a

. Fir entries 3 . 1004) The daged of Death has descended unlently among them. I was a him of the concentration camps and pritoneri-of-tion, 1904-08 MA thesis (Hutory), Windhock University of Manibia 37, mlyn v on Poole, G (1980) Bley, H (1871) South West Africa under Cerman rule 1894-1914. London. Cannel Maherero. Windhoek. Gamaberg MacMulan, 345

Непетапп, 59.

that the Kaiser person alone and the term (55M) to go ment Bernt concurs, or at the the now to think the special is him Von Troths to ene tre terre pring " with I knowledge of his military it and the Bullow, the Arlandm overruled Von Bülow, the Chief of the C - Potati, he All attent Validation of the Contractible of officed property and come accessor is suggested pressure to acceptation mills appears were brook provide how and by me die to rece to the letter of the michael of the faster of the best of the approved rem

supplied to the treat to be to be the residence of The Lie that the section of the basher were now an action of the factories har the artists we men it will be not age in a tropler and he prohibited regotiations with the Herero without his consent 164 That the Kaiser overruled Von Billow in the appointment of Von Trotha may he part of the reason why the latter kept the Kaiser's order sec. The sec. In of the 1 - start stores of weeds the fact in the to the property of the second section of the second second of the second se Hawever, when a tre hasser personally a ray but lead a conselfurther control and the posmb. 13 to externing the Herero. Accordingly And the second of the second s rejected all such claims on the grounds that it was the Emperor who had the exclusive right of decusion in matters pereaning to the defence of the Reich

regard of Shaded and Hora a non-Communication and the solution of the soluti division of the formal of the bound of the bound of I one to the transfer of the state of the state of the state of 1 to the Sombart & cots to Lat V . ... Villa as a drume and the production of final solutions in the ... it p. ... is murder in historical perspective Cambrage 100 . In the same I to same the same of the same standard at high A to un ar to r B Bulle of the first of the I is in I New interpretations. The Code Papers Cam . . hat and the street read and a state of the street of we a next of a fire post of the state of the best of t No. 14 .. 12 3. N. .. 1 5 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 . . . . . . . . . .

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### Why the Kaiser chose Von Trotha

Africa won distinction for his brutal defeat of the so-called Wahehe Rising 192 The Kaiser and others were aware of the Frontax cressingly for breshouts and tactics appear in snany accounts. For example, John Welling in 1111 that Vo As ence of or the Constant of Same and the Constant of Garten East Versiden if the variable is such he had win a great reputation for his ureetly ratelians methods were remain." Herrrik Lundtofte notes that Troths in the years 1894–97 as commander-in-chef of German forces in German East routhlessness and these fit their objectives " (, vit) 1 in fixt to: 1 miles " in Trum has Back for the war of the wars of 1866 and S .. ter sail

The method of conducting town berough burning, was hardly congenial to m. v. tue Von Troths himsell said of the warfare in East Afra a

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and the state of the wild and the second with these rebellions are I are Van Trotha and he was told to a time reason and to another and na les el ase Mr de en tour es sed profers to sed ut la que est an Carpor Green Helbodi Commence of the property of the carpor of the carpor The transfer of the state of th able tartials where something of the transfer of the factor of March 1965 of March 1 25 1 As Manuelle has alec-

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Von Trotha had been part of the German armed forces that mercalessly can sell the Boxer Road an be than the hasser referred that no one by score, and understand when was expected to min in GSWA, even if he was not specifically and it is contestly. He was chosen above a number of other officers to encline the rebellion because those who chose him were aware of his record and probably wanted it replicated. Schrank auggests that it was view frothas common of the first Asiatic Expeditionary Brigade in China a nor that or give that it was view that or give that it was view.

Waters, a all ctra (x, a release, the gover or or the real at their correction of the result of the result of the result of the result of the importance accorded to his appointment Consequently, the direction of a solid to tent the Kaiser become parameter and Jastonian case sidenties. A sequence parameter and Jastonian case sidenties of sequence of the result of t

Thus 'te situation in GSWA went from one extreme to the other overnight. While Leutwein nominally remained the governor, in rea 10 to 1. Troths took over his position. Leutwein returned to Germany and 100 to 1 Aug. 5. 100 resigned his general color of the present in general supersors at the contents at tonical to the present in a general such that he was infact given way one or measureless as has now suggested, our that he was infact given by the contents of the contents and the content of the contents of the subset of the subset of the states.

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# Did the Kuser give Von Trotha a specific genocide order?

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Any Trees, across that a transition by and norm, is a mid critical residual to the state of the

It also would appear that the Kaiser wild Von Trotha to be ruthless, as on a OLiOber 1904, some two days after the extermination order, be wrot to a Chief Olio China to weak and

Note that the source officials to be metablished people cuthout express scales one to Note the Emperor and Nong, it is exemited that all sections of a second to exclude the steel tradement than be excluded to exthe steel tradement than be because to admin a such that is a second to the steel tradement than because the second to exclude the steel tradement than because the second that the second tradement than the second tradement that the second tradement tradement that the second tradement that the second tradement tradement that the second tradement tradement that the second tradement tradement

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not negotiate because the Kaiser ordered him not to and he was not able to go TO DECEMBELLY AS A CONTROL OF TO BE DONE BY THE PARTY OF without the express orders of the Emperor It is therefore likely that he could Von Trotha said that he 'can [-not]' and 'will [not]' negotiate with the Herero The Figh is the interested theory. In He is dere a committee again at those orders unless the Kniser amended them

Von Trothn's claim that the Kniver did not gave him directives but merely told him that he needed to crush the uprising in GSWA clearly seeks to protect the Kaiser. There is no other reason for such an explicit explanation orward grats powell in order in Indicator of the back metwittern hanser of the first of the probes were striply to put lowing to reheligin att report zach



German Schutzfrappe on patrol

Drechsler H (1980) Let ut die fighting. The traggie of the Berro and Namo against the German imperation (1994–1915) (Berric Zoliner transt), London, Zed Press, 16

Din the haver ohner the aemoint?

rom the need to discuss a pourse of action in OSWA Hence it is like a trac-KINKE I conclude that the regal of your man cotton your ... Protha. He sent various messages to Von Trotha, at least one of Abar a river sective televie the exteriumants and I salls a participation of afactor Waterings at the best line regulated to the horsepara and the White the boson to meet try participants with the property of a second or of the armed forces, there was no specific reason to meet with Von Trult . . . the Kaiser's or tall at I may the against gar 1,4 most the Labe Land Been the harmon to pt.

With thanks to God and with great fay I have received your report from Hamakan loser suffered breuns of the stiff resistance of the enem ... ". regretted yet the bravery reduct the troops displayed under the greatest ten. " ". on rung the marneful attack of Jugant 1. against the main force of the Mereros

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attential over tor being by see no more a intertebrit me Robber II government the range of the in That is the a tree was with a to of the financialities. I have to the a me and har a meat area adornations and market at the state of halyers are a read a government of the famous savers and stated by the state of the state in the first of the color of the color where the best and a gat mid-1904, he met with the Kasse, as Tollowing suggests. His Majesty the Engle at a constant the expected me e crish the rebot on The word toward Joneses, exertist The World The man the district in heart and an actioners. The many of the State of the Color of the Co ate of month of the Expectations of my parts from

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Chancellor and others to rescried the exterimination order is proof of his privite role. They implaced than it the end of 1904 to rescrid it, but he only responded some weeks are if this allone shows that he was in change and that the Chancellor required his consent in order to have the order amended.

Whue Colchidate in this 1971 book, 217 whose that the response to the externmenton order was materian cours and that the Kaiser repudiated the order, he did not do so insubediately. After he was officially told, it took some weeks of persuading to force that to act. In fact, Chanceller win Billow had trouble took insuber Kaiser, who was refulsisastic about the way Yon Trotha was waging war? Zirke, also notes that the haiver's evertual accret. Litting the extermination order was intentionally so vague that the general could actually continue what he was doing almost without interference 228. The general intent continued presence of the cordon forcing the Hereror into the desert and preventing access to the water wells until the end of 1905 81\* Thus, while the Kaiser lifted the specific externance order in word, the desets and preventing access to the externance order in word, the deeds continued and the intent to achieve the same result persisted de Jacto.

## Would Von Trotha have kept the genocide order secret?

As indicated thus for it is likely that the specific extormination instruction came from the Kaiser and that he and Von Trotha wanted to keep this fact secret. The attempt to suppress the Kaiser's outburst on the docks in Bremen as the troops were leaving for China as not an solastic example—as shown before, there were many occasions on which statements or orders by the Kaiser were edited or censored, <sup>21</sup> The German government acknowledged that the waiser's utterlings trequired refinement to make them more palatable. Before 18 g. 'the entire machinery of state was employed to suppress unpalatable truths. <sup>230</sup> This statement from 1902 evidences this practoce

sto Cochbar, I. 1973, Hattory of South West Africa, from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Cape Town Jula 32

41 Reling II. (1988) Within Dintach-Shitwest Weinheiter Basel Beltz. 58
348 Zirkel K. 1999, Wiltitry power in dermain coloniar policy. The Schutztrappen
and their cauters at the East and South West Africa. 1888. 3-8. In Kit ingrat. D
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4.8 Roll J.C.G. 1982) Introduction in Roll J.C. & Sombar. N. (eds) know-Hilden II: New interpretations. The Corfs Poper, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 20.

When I made, the communication to the basser. His Majesty reported in such a way, that we constructed to such the Works is constructed to such the Works is too contact. You such the Majest is too contact. You such the Majest is too contact, which diplomatic anguigh in that case the such persons to report that there Majest has see and the communication, afth sucception I is, replies the Majest with the sea with the communication, afth sucception I is, replies the Majest with the sucception of the work with the sucception of the succeptio

Thus, t was exidently common knowledge that the Kaiser expected others to be diplomatic when reporting what he said or did Even without a specific directive from the hauser or this act sore, Am Trotta, hiving served in China would have be sure that the Firstraction was not to be made public otherwise criticism wanded by we at had after the Hun speech. According to otherwise territorial was concerned the Kaisers candomage and states men grow were the Kaisers personal try, however no matter now relections they became as a result of personal might or policy. Afterence they all stopped shorr of diving their mage ings to the general prior.

While construct the Kaiser abounded aroughnous his rough at certainly due not ecute from those around him. Even in 1928 when the Kaiser was an excheance in his appointees Court Zeo are Trateschler, jublished a book that was erroral of bin these resolutions were included in minersecritically. Robb any easy that this influence, The event of the press to up proving tablettering resolutions also by Them IPs true nature accounting public.

Since many records, publications and durites were satirised to remove comments that would reflect regains during the harsens of a silesy fact for Teotian dainy, which was likely to contain sensitive information about the harsens role in the events of GWSs, would also have been existed it seems as though an surginal handout ten daily was lost, but a typed canoning trouin 930 mag by his second wife Lucy as well as another versing of the lary, a

Balfour M. (1908) The harver unit assistants Boston Houghton Mifflan, is a Robi J.C. (1984) Introduction In Robi, J.C. & Sammart N. Pers, Indian II. Vermitzbrindon, The Corfu Papers. Cambridge. Cambridge.

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University Press. 2.

secretary appears to have typed the 1930 version, as the keystrokes indicate that some me well versul with a typewite, in the apprehim that rolling that I the was emitted in the process of typing the transcript, becan se even a trace in colored crayon or pencil of passages the reader(s) apparently ~ shi d bound typescript version made later) exist \*\*\* According to Hull, a professional 1930 version and that the 'ms was reread several times, each reading loan of in mittrem age same publisher version 224 This does not, of course, address document. The fact that two typed versions of the ariginal existed should raise to give rise to two typed versions, it was supposedly lost? One would have in rute geographical details were retained. Yet, it is also possible that the ration is strated the twine verying was prevently sensitive details the Linux recorded in the original. While Holfs arg ment seeing plancing, I been not necessarily include that their way in title it may exclude all articles and that might have been problematic in the 1930s. Hull does note that sive used the which detains in feet to make it from the anguist written version anto the typed questions, specifically why, if the original document was important enough such as placing it in an archive or a museum. Hence, the possibility extists that the 1950 version may have been edited to omit details that Von Trotha stain y thought that great care would go into protecting such a valuable document, deemed unfavourable to him or the Kaiser

Bertha Meumann born 1850), deed on 9 October 1905 to Berlin while Von Trotha was waging the genocide campaign against the Hurero. The Kuiser agreed to reneste him of his compand in GSWA on a November to the Trans. 1-15 Coolescen brenkmann who who married in 1st survived our and passes as as GSWA about month after her death, on 17 November 1955. Thus It is was pig Section grants and a second processing the contract of the second and and or and strains of the first was the probability transmissing. If they are state to one of the mentions of the family gave a speech in which he attack. We do not minute plan those events down or try to put them into perspective by saying see Von Trotha was born on a July 1848 and died on 51 March 1969: His live wite Child hat the time my has at a property of her tile et a vice to Lane chie-ren, but ha externor familistatis and therest in hala in the one has united Name and gree are of the of finite or (1 a) a control of a or a control of that what humpean colonial powers had proceeded in the same or a number way No every of he facts we would like to any the following to the flere or pie in with you can of their highest representatives we members of the Trotha family regret what happened to your people and children to the so Name, the cruel and an assessed of the terrable events that took place a bandred years ago. We deeply

es the fill him to the other waters from Theore of the of the trafferent we the bar a restriction is website to halte at http://www.trothi.de/ unjustified death of tens of thousands of men, women and children. freemany Ichain Cornel I proceed Press, 30 fn at0.



Conterner teatwests, Oberlewingst von Troths and Centeral von Troths. The Serond from alte achris, owner of tone Scant Wandbook or has ble younger Von Troths was General you Trothas nephew

and make on the land of about that the his makes were and to kircure about his femore sports a nell me agreening in the receiving the ribe Inverse agly, the press reported that the Very Trictha latter, who have the behaves that me Coment after on whaling the Cornang was more They are a sellen a speller or measured to treation of variation between the hery towns and all and that I does not bear the pieces like I mit

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lamily believes that the Herero, Nama and Damaras require special assistance from Cermany to help rebuild their ancestral heritage. \*\*\*\*6

RIPER LANGE THE RELEASE TO IT HE HOLD I CHELLE MANY THE MANY practice aperifically around that time, but continued at least and the time. and possibly beyond If the sanituing of his accounts continues ofter the hatser to leage the Latter was tear than their as the accessor were to war of the of a fifther, such unsuccessful transfer the contract the part of the harver was a man specifical which have not not to had ordered? Was he not more akid. The at the straight for our start we the reports to protect the have "I've way a decrease advise by us by some and atom atom con freiling is at sectional and agine though that a car har or gineer the rend Denger was proved to an action to The transfer of the state of th thank in ght fire it some age night, and but the faller of the miles more area of the tarther energy Staffic port of the who prates that generate, when Cerman officials made supreme efforts to keep much of the What is unquestionably clear is that assertions unflattering to the haiser had been edited out of other records after his reign. This was common You Trutha did not provide all the data is a source events of the asset of feeding that in Van Trotha's orders to the selection are others here is a commutant about the Herero war I've court at title of the way to turn I've de GPF THE SALLEY GIVE SHOW LATE AT IN THE WE ASKED TO WATER Ranged at mixing stee, this court allow was made by German officials to keep let is et the sand new condit me to the colourer from the extra of The week Nowhere was this more so than in GSWA during the Hereru

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The equation of the variant life of the variance of the character of the control of the control

The family meets twice yearly to discuss these usues bon Trotha's great-grandinghes has offered his despeat regreti over what occurred. It is fullimer reported that the Von Trotha family supports a discussion regarding reparations between the Committoes of the Herero.

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Lemkin papers. Box 6, Folder 9, 3

we Guge, R.H. & Wheers, A.J. (transf. hum. ( .rm. ).

the Rescharge controllably slammed that they were not fully informed and that many of the brutalities occurring were not reported to them In this concext, it was a train of the Kanser had given the order, he would not have a kere to a train of the Manner had given the order, he would not have a kere to a train of the minimum.

# The role of German law in keeping the genocide order secret

so a vego south that your Trotha did not resent the reasons meaning as a such thormation might have caused him to lost to see a such thormation. By the caused him to lost to see a such as the period of the decase to the see a such control Code 24% south, control to a such as the cause of the Crimana Code 24% south, control to the cause of the Crimana (see a such as the cause of the critical of the critical to the cause of the critical of the

at the first to add man to also also the state of the terminal parture of representative at the new shall and the representative by Thus, Von Trotha may have been liable or may have believed that he could This article provided that they are an early banker and he article Confine with the entry to the try Detention of from two the state of the s don't us me I as other has to him ads the des seath a led to the examination of hearth regard to thother acin were the and to some that was nother person despirable or is the best partice within so the fe and lable to a Fine nor North the ne trucken bete to a term in a confer of recovered a plant months made than to spide blerately and with Little side satisfied the direct seconds of states of the contractions of the contraction I had a water of the way was the ment the ment of the back. See be liable under this provision. Section 9.5 of the Code aught have also applied of the Chiteman Che mas she have been topological It is added the or in thousand five the every after that the fine and are

If the Raiser demed giving the order, Von Thotha may have been liable under Section 187, which made it an offence to assert or publish an untrue fact. Section 18 makes the offences covered by Section 186 and 187 more aevere if the prospecty' of the person assemble, affected Von Trotha may also have been concerned about Section 187 as a provided that sugons who increase a member of the lines of the in a Navi to disobey an order a law wing in the lines of the sections.

faith and see at the see and the seminates fectitions or misrepresented facts, knowing that they are fictitious or misrepresented, in order thereby to bring state measures or orders of the authorities into contempt, shall because for a Foreign state measures or orders of the authorities into contempt, shall be exceeding two years, Section 31 may have been of further contemp to Von Trotha as it provided that anyone sentenced to Fernal Internent is thereby permanently incapacitated by law for service in the German Army or Navy and for appointment to any public office? 4.1 these provisions specifically applied to the interest or service in the German Army or Navy and for appointment to any public office? 4.1 these provisions specifically applied to the interest of this office and this office to the person convicted of this office to his public office.

Of relevance is that these laws were regularly enforced. One example, which demonstrates the appuration of these laws specifica at the constraint of the section of the sec

Denker was a civilan, so one can deduce that if he received such punishment, mantary personnel would be even more likely to simply follow orders and not publicly voice complaints about these oxiders. In this conicit, it is virually inconceivable that Von Trotha would have thought it safe to make any statements about the Kaiser the inflitary or anything else the mage of termany or the virtual in the construed negatively or affect the image of termany or the virtual in the construed negatively or affect the image of termany or the

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Deer that some some of the risks regard of he years, in struction we kely that You Trutha would not have rewaled the order even after retirement, as the consequences of German officers expressing their opinions wer the properties the way to the the terminal are Ohrest ath a en Were many and a later of the form of the form of in he control of the wife of suggester he and the a state throat the established to the property of the bit , bely not a the of the west of the was med not good to be the and aniform, Gadke refused to accept the decision of any day and that and no jurnstlution over retired officers assist less events were and any the news at the time Van Trotha was about to leave for GSWA While he was in GSWA, the Gådke care further unfolded The military wanted to prosecute Glacke for wearing a seal in was well as to weather a site assure. CVE do K. THINK I WR I HALL I GIRLY TO AT THE OR le le la labrarile de la fedición de feste de Character de l'artificie de l'en the money of the form we was at the transfer in a the dear of the tright of the man of the man to and he were no sales as a the real the event of the real owed to the base. 1 - No. Mars of the adole a sort of a part

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atudy of Nombus's concentration temps and prisoners-of-was, 1904-08. MA thesis

History, Windheek University of Namibia, 5-7

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courts were amended. On 12 February 1907, Caidke again wrote an article in He was again tried in September 1907 and this nine convicted. The courts dismissed his appeal in February 1908 404 The press reported these events and Von Trotha must have resolved that he would not be safe, even upon the Berliner Tagethalfarguing that these amended orders were unconstitutions. retirement, to reveal the orders given by the Kauser

treatist true asse were complex ( the man in a) to the grow use same that the same of these as same per authorities bear all the power at its command to force officers, even when they had left the force, a strong mora pressure, which is used to bind the individual officer to in a me two Herdaling & Plans Pass, a, an army major, merely to the core of man in a war of the basel of the hotel regular army, to keep to the path of political orthodoxy, resorting, where necessary, to methods which were constitutionally highly dubious "458 Glidke wrote an article in 1911 asserting that these processes amounted to 'an act of a partition purities me and to make him submit to an or otherwacar and New Frodia to he circle spect what is said and descriptions tithe sea the statemen the effects I was a Both His case was referred A ROLL WAS THE CAN IN HARM APICA A REDUCE TO A BUT RUCH OFFERIORS after to ar mr

way the war had been conducted, \*1\* Other meanires included taxing steps bethe mer Australia previous Branch par rosa (18 grains da at to limit what the troops themselves revealed about the war. He specific ordered German soldiers returning home not to talk to the press. The military Trotha not only restricted the information flow by the soldiers under his command he also occasionally inhibited the information he provided to the General Staff in Berlin. A 1906 report of the General Staff in Berlin noted in events in GSWA. In August 1905 he prohibited German forces from giving statements to the Hindhuker Nachrichten, as that newspaper had critical visities command also prohibited them from publishing their letters or diagrass Vov reference to the concentrated of the Sand cal

General ann Trotha's reports did not suntam sens. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . I is harafring picture of armies who died of thirst was revealed to their eyes. All

of a start to be the title control State on a hand by the word the state which is a property of the state o the contract of the contract of the property of Von Trotha kept everyon on the cash and the committee they will after a reason of the state of the state of the state of the The one well to at the orbigine order of the liberger ather so littath book mann rike was on ferrande at ne 

11 singues that if the Kaiser had given Von Tracha such an order, over orally, Von Trotha would have acknow selged it when he defended his conduct in private correspondence to his superiors, Chief of Staff Alfred von Schlieflen, Chancellor was Bulon and Governor Leucucia. Was You Trotha knew the order wants be at the was interactly and a world or made in hance I are the enext office only or the world oversexpositions at post or many a court will cold we had about a deman a training of dangmenters and my modes on that I won the way to be a fact that to II , TRANTS the cours of other the hand went to reveal the order to a vice of a vice and a vice bare when we are the mala, realising the possible to sequence to serve out to heart "The of the second to be and and that he would have crusted not call act by we are with the fact that When the may have told his superiors, he would not have done so in each a way that the confidence, would be have done so in tack was attacked to say large and communication could have been compromised, either they or in the future in unitary over the hassers Hua speech and the events of Boxer Rebellion, . ;

Courses as a selection of the Sample designation Trapper in Statuestaffilm I der Graßen Generalstubes. Band I. Der Feldrug gegen die Hererus. Berlin Fig. Su. Fig. Mary No. 21 Cited to Hinz, M.O (2003) One handred It. It was the comment the the month of the Millers of the Man Marians A . Whome the one is a hart for a latteringe the state of the later attended to E was a born out to the lead of range of the second waste in part No. 11 In the Cambridge University Press, +

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that private correspondence would actually remain private. Hulls argument does not consider the fact that the Kaiser and/or others may have matructed Von Thatha not to reveal the direct order. We know from a letter You Trotha whete on 7 December 1904, that the Kaiser told him not to have anything to do with the Chancellor 214 [ Par prier h g - 16) has points and is yet another example of the cer property and between I as I not in a tal the bases. It a w the second state france want. I be as I have pergo order a so the authority and it suggests tensions between the Kaiser and the Chancellor This letter may therefore partly explain why You Trotha would never have revealed that the Kaiser gave the extermination order. At the same time, it confirms that the Kaner was a specific command over military activates in GSWA during

best ways for the Kasser to lumit interference from the Chancellor expectful . . . es, or it is in the Carle . It we are were suman or the Kun speech, ie to take a part of the back of As unted earlier, that speech caused Bülow to threaten to har the Kasser from speaking at events an general, at least not without an approved speech it also resulted in the hauser's brother seeing the troops off from hiel \*\*\* One of the GSWA, would have been to keep information from him. This would have been Party Same Bradening at the Course by the rectained in party the It is also important to link the Kaiser's barring of a relationship between Vor Troths and the Chancellor with the consequences of the Hun speech, Major Steihlmann in his diary published later, noted that 'it was announced to us today that our relatives are forbidden to publish our diames or else we will be punished. I am of the opinion that however justifiable the measures are, they are Ito be seen] in light of the vasify exaggerated Hunnenbriefe ...\*+13 of the has any interest about to maght space of the about the collection of eventure

Tong yer in speech of the territor which a per to appear to a land it was the and simply called for the restorate out by and order? It was probably a scripted speech and this time the basser was spreading in conclusion new apported of to less the room the text

It is possible that others knew of the order given to You Trotha. One person who might have known was the Kaiser's chief of the Militaire Masson General,

444 Hul, IV (2006) Absolute destruction: Mititary culture and practices of war in Imperial F. E. T'NE. THOSE A

23.3 Quated a Erichsen, CW (2004) The Angel of Death has descended violently among them. A thuly of Numbro 1 concentration camps and prisoners-of-way, 1304-08. MA thous (Hastory). Windhoek: University of Namba, 8 fa 6

AM Blul. IV (2005) Attachie destruction. Mittary culture and practices of war in Imperial Germany, Ithaca Cornell University Press, 36 & 136 fn 20

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was less. Il calle not ador to calle but a We correct the tree to be bareless as it is a suble we had and the Kamer had closed him in a sea totale of a see aware of the extra section of a right it ask For what other reason would he have his nerve regarding the on that in any to the Common payers words of courses payers and har a well by a both both good to do not be he wish I to real the way of the second and a second and a second and

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extress of the baser would foliate bear 141 where a reduce true Some argue that if the Kaiser had given the externination order, Von Trotha would have mentioned it in his defence when he and the Chancellor quarrelled about the subject Further, he would likely have recorded it in his dary Even when criticised for his conduct, Von Trothe never blamed anyone Mighty Kaiser, von Tratha He would have done nothing to undermine the the Kusser gave the order, states A is a selected to good out in a little else for what occurred 44 However, as shown, there are many reasons why Von Trutta would not have revealed the Kaiser's involvement. He was the hasser's general and proud of it. He signed his orders, the Great General of the Kauser Von Trotha knew that Leutwein, Bulow and various political partnes to the Reichstag opposed the conduct and that it will all the conduct and difference of M. at " Max

regarding whether he supported what he was dong It is even pass by that that the Chanceller she is countries on Is the basser You Interit in the state of the content of the state of the state of the state of (n == Start whether) a Macanaga concluded as as a financial " A to the time of the telegraph cores a factor transfer Von Trothe had told the Chanceller that this is what the Kenser wante and HI with a third of a droof, " o that a had a work the the of his assent to that any most suppressed at the highest lead Caum I a I never received an answer Quifact, conten-

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Nathrichten in which he stated. Already in September 1904 I had made no bones about how I intended to end the uprising and numerous times I offered continually sought approva and that the Kaser continually sought approva my resignation if this policy was rejected the thus made it clear that be until the Kaiser supposedly and reluctantly more course, note and course

Some of the transe over the frame over the posterior of the frame of the frame over the frame ov be military contine, it also corresponded with what the government wanted, it therefore had no reason to doubt that the Kaiser approved of his conduct. He regularly requested confirmation of what he was doing. He wanted to ensure, the rebellion. Because he obviously received no censure or counter-orders, he proceeded with the approach and strategies familiar to him While this may Undoubtedly, the Kaner and others knew what was happening, they received regular reports from Yon Tracha, Governor Leutwein and others A man morners of the Remark mand discrement of the and many is a fina source to the basic of inglam directly what was evening the the wells. There is no proof that he received that letter, but that German forces implemented the recommendation is solid evidence 204 Von Trotha on an ongoing basis, that the Kaiser approved of his methods, as he knew there was controversy in Germany about how German forces were quelling conformed to state culture.

defeat of the Herero, but it most probably refers to the extent of the annih sine when I named you to Commander of the Schutztruppe and it is a pleasure to express to you again my complete recognition for your accomplishments so correspondence in which he had previously expressed his appreciation. In addition, the Kaiser expresses his complete recognition of and support for You Trotha's actions, a few weeks after he ostensibly resunded the extermination with There is a thing megaline in a there is to the the water of the states expectables is said that it is to receive that here in that it is a to the interpretation of the said is a to the interpretation of the said in the sa harver spietre or in his abs condine interest to the construction 1905 he wrote to You Trotha You have entirely fulfilled my expectations far 453 The Katser says be to thanking Von Trotha agust, indicating a regular THE LAN. EXTERIT ERPORABLE OF THE ALL THE PARTON CHEEK A THE SALE OF THE SALE Even in 1965, the Kaiser was supportive of Von Trotha On 19 fanuary achieved by then

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German Phas and Trell onversor Press, 50.

A S stille to said will a to the term of any house to the the sector bearing the contract of the form and the tenth same article which said that this was Genocide because it was an attempt by representatives of the German Coversion of the said whole people was the world of the tast a prompt of the harmon are a straight to the death with a substant of her and The property of the participant the equipment of the section of the sections of the sections and being Appetrate and W. by bay, state that he have not of their employers

While Lundrafte argues that Troths was given free hands by the Kaisser to suggested that the intent to commit genotic consupation to the best but and pacity the rebels, and the German Government and the Kaiser knew what was happening. An abundance of evidence shows that the Kaiser was not only well and the many and the street of the community west I state the separation that I result and to be a Varus in her well be Governor and determine the gettern public domain in Germany at the time, because the generale provoked vocalerous protests. In adultum, You Trotha wrote to the Chief of the Army on 4 October 1904 and specifically informed him of developments. It has been one told Von Trotha to stop what he was doing Ber is a second Trotha to stop what he was doing Ber is a second to the second to what was happening 329 On 5 December 1903, Change Long to Bully of the a Paris, or me me secretal at the mysostigal as to be with reports they received, but even without these, the facts were clearly is use 25 NOTES HERE LAND TO TROOPS BOTH HARM NOTES A DEPOSIT OF SE

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the only means of restoring orderly conditions is to be four 1.7 Annat ne down those half-atarved Herero bands, dying of turns wite at Mirmolg to et the desert. Of this there can be no question" His spoot for neurons there concluse and the 1987 that there is 19 fact the chanceler was pre-ce-veb. press a lear the rid sure to change if externy rate a spare in the angether the the offices (vernion ( other) Staff Roport waven constraint the sealing of of Ceder was commonstancial ego der beraner da arma was a new as a green The Sandwal extented a tip of an absorbing ever morths completed the work

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Plant to her Committee the mightest to any stead of games. It we have the tenth in the boar of the short tenth of the orthogology ea ex la hapen in merchan in the arthur stands wonder that thousands of whites it is red for the front as if some great Power threaters. Fatherland, 404 Mowever, according in Tost. . . . Trotsus Julyman, Cerson o alone waged thritten wars between and are in the second and a contract of the second Minor character and keep them under satisfal fire terms to the terms. Aprille and administer of the least of CSM to be writted that ther apartials confrontations. The rest is rest to by the the demonstrate the strength of the German croops. He dis it as as a median that it was his first war frought is the entited of theirs a termine were waln Therefore, the Hervin war was not the Kainer's frot of 11 to the depth of the forter and the soleten of the first or this some " at a Parkettinal uncleam airs its attended this war for the Kaiser and and 18., tere were more than 60 large-scale in the erre tuto the circle Whi, entitling it "The Kaiser's First War" wie 18ts, as towns above, akhough there is sume dehane over whethere he in my blices, proimportance the form of the man of the state of the second

one ite a when the quelling of the May-Maji rebehance and a ratio and to the second control is a points out that the same practiques occurrent if in tween two and three hundred thousand people are a training Ward Ward According to Hull, these two events signify trut the earlies in it rind solving political presherts by total unlimited forc. In that try tunes of purchases and the attributed to to mich some nations. ha there was fattel the state is being all the wast tribers

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were volunteers and settiers, "To who had not served in the other places where the military culture that Hu.l addresses held sway Granted some of the soldiers in leadership positions were previous a stationard described. Any vertices were not the foot soldiers, they are in its leaves med, the may not ogive the commands. Hence, it is extremely likely that the troops simply carried out an order (or orders). To some extent, the volunteers and extlicit may have wanted to impress their leadiers and those to command in Berlin, but there is enough evidence to suggest that Yon Troiba and/or the Kaiser ordered the military to do the things they did Most of the soldiers would, no doubt, have presumed that the Kaiser product, no

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At times when the Kaiser ordered acts he received expropriations as a man to act to early of was or by the restry parties who complained about the context of the part of the name the Republing who warned that as a completing with a sake a real Bologory or many the comment have put a stop to it, but they did not. In fact, they allowed these practices to THE RESIDENCE DEFINITION AND THE REPORTED THE SECURITION INC. OF THE PERSON AND INCOME. Winda Mare' of Loung Hinton. In contacted by age of the State Same the corresponds to the the rest of brutal ways were secretaring seven and the tenderness and publicised reports the container of het my to capitle exact, were the have trend to the The reserve or appliance place when are not a set they wastered he en an to the conductant pare to me to a me tangethermine fire were paver ment has not be for their of the period to be to this the sound to be Corman deserve. I am twitte affective on the keep give is, wen III word halor addon and toward two exchange captured presidens was personal of the state of being today to any the sent toget dies with

That James for receive to a gover—rout who separate true all quarters consistent that James for receive the degree of a government of the second for the second for moved called Pater Moori Journe to South Beth, published in views set to not copies, in that year alone, in Germany. It was also a see-work book in German sections from 1908 2" Clearly, the public was aware of events in GSWA and work superate the range action of events in GSWA and work superate the range action of events in GSWA and work superate the range action of sections the German optulate generally aroutly approved the actions taken \$329. The Berliner German populate generally aroutly approved the actions taken \$329. The Berliner circumstances by sharp and virialess points money in The sectices in GSWA also wanted as to see the sections of the sections. The sections of viver also wanted as to see the sections of the section of the sections of the sections of the

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of some authors, such as Helmut Walser Snuth, who claim that the German constitution annied public or publicea, debate about the violence perpetrated.

While many authors downplay the role of the Renchklag in colonnal and multary matters, the facts and events suggest otherwise Less than a week after the rebellion began on 12 January 503 the Renchang debated the matter of The Renchangs support for the military was such that, by 19 Banaary 1905 to approve the testra resources are evenestiage to the military campaign to GSV. S. A. D. In the very all all to triad L. S. That to the by 19 Banaary 1905 to apprecess the rebellion, without any opposition not even from individuals such as August Bebel <sup>1974</sup>. The military alone did not take the the usum to rush triups to GSWA, the Chancellor, the Colonasi Office, the Raiser and others also say to the research of the support o

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Herero prisoners in the port of cuddentz on their way to Shark Island

Smith uses the example of Bernhard D. m. ig. th. Colonal Secretary who is 20% argued that as a crollan minister for cell and operation from the Polar Islan to a central on camp, as the still inder the contest of war. While has speakably the cult terms that is so it as the independent of the colonal section. While has so do an worth a the industry While has so do an internet before the case into grower page, when response here for the colonial response here. For the calculation of the war to the case in the military is not to the case and the military was not without oversight and accountability, a was accountable to the has see and, thus, to the government. However, Darnburg stated that if he had pressed the alface in command, the latter would have told him that the circ instance den anded such a actor. The a Darnburg column him that the circ instance den anded such a actor. The a Darnburg column he could as a the affected and before as a country as a the circ instance and in the analysis whether

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Not only did the Ferero kill many German soldiers but many also died from disease. Altogether about 1,500 soldiers ded either at the hands of the Herero or from sickness. From April 1904 to June 1905, alone, 321 German troops dued of illness This increased the urgency to neutralise the Mereno he had relatively few troops. That, along with the fact that the Herero waged their campaign effectively, meant that the Germans had to deal with them in a single battle, with only the resources at Von Trotha's disposal. Without a major success then, the Herero would have been able to regroup, making it very difficult for the German troops who had long supply lines and would have to wait for reinforcements. In fact in Murch 1904, three months after the rebollion supposedly began, only 1567 new troops had arrived and by August there were still only 4000 German soldiers. 300 The Curman troops' unability to defeat the Herero and the threat that they might not be able in do so in the future also intensified the pressure to find a new approach 1 conone German soldier campusnicated this to the haiser, suggesting in a vitor in quickly and efficiently When Yon Trotha arrived to put down the rebellion,

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who that it was necessary to resort to some new strangent, such as poisoning the water webs. The soldier justified this plan by saying, Affect all, we are not fighting against an enemy respecting the rules of farriess, but awages 449 Although the German Criminal Code prohibited the administering of poison at the army took up this suggestion 410

German settlers, with access to good, arable land and without compet to from the indigenous people, also shaped the Cerman response to the rebellion However, their reaction also stemmed from their wish to punish the Phereno while deterring other groups from rising up in the future. The puritive motivation behind the Herero genocide is borne out by the following statement in an official German military report.

The shuting off of the Sandrend, which was carried on for months with min firmness, completed the work of destruction. The drains of the drain and the drains of the madelened people—these extract through the solients after of the most field of the solients.

groups in GSWA such as the Nama, from resisting the calonial enterprises but also other groups elsewhere in the Empirous actors with the Arian Such as love in the Arian Such as love in the Arian Such as love in the Arian Such and Arian Such as love in the Arian Such Arian Such as love in the Arian Such Arian Such as love in the

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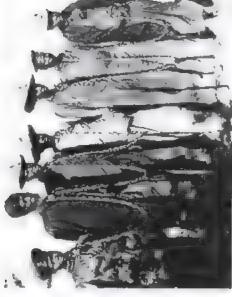
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Fig. 11. It is a material of the first property of the propert

in the exterm nation atnotices of 190s and other conflicts recoved awards and recognition 1st Combarants and those who removed the sick and you alex received a bronze version and those individuals who assisted in moving the emons and supplies architing the crews of German susping companies chartered to ferry troops and supplies received a steel version the That the Ka ser persona, Iv designed the medals, that they were restowed three years after the campaign began and that they included services rendered during not to any attempt to hide a fashing These factors, especially his involvemen The Chief-die sinker at the Royal Prussan Mint in Berlin, Otto Schultz, 534 cut the dies, which further underscores the official nature and importance By order of His Majesty the King and Emperor, this commemorative medal in bronze given by the same all highest — is awarded to in recognition of his the specific extermination period point to obvious support for the companyin in the design of the medals, indicate the harser's affinity for the companying placed on these medals. A certificate accompanying the branze medals read,

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It must be noted, hat 4t least 200 battles took place petreen, he Nama and the Germans, of which a least 30 wer, with Marenge. Masson J. (1001) Jakob Marrigo, 4s early resonance hero of Sumbia W mahous, Out of 1876 at a

Sixteen additional hars were added to the medals awarded for the specific campaigns during which gross attricties were committed. The first six were for

1 Herero land in lancary 1904- 7 Augus 1006;

9 Omerure 1 January 50th 19 May 1905

4. Waterberg: 24 May 1904-15 August 1906; 

R. Gross-Namaland 27 October 1904-25 May 1906; 18 December-96 December 5. Oznahele September 1909 - June 1905.

1988, December) The Südwestafrika Denkmunze and the South West African How many medals or how many people were avainded bara is unknown as these records were destroyed during the World War II bumbung, Sole, T.E. compaigns of 1909-1908' 1(9) Mildory History Journal, 19-93.

devoted a few hours to his capture, while those who had been involved to trying to apprehend him for years were overlooked. Calvert, A.F. (1915). South West Africa. Diving the German Occupation 1884-1914. London London T. Wetner Laurie, The same of medala was contro era-al as many German soldiers and officials perceived them to have been handed on its as artials manner. The avidans handed out for the fullings of facet. Marches was seen to se given to those who had only

Sole, TE (1968, December) 'The Südwestafrika Denkmanze and the South West African compangno of 1908-1908 3(8) Wiltory History Journal, 19-28

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West the a " The gover-ment gave as many as as lars with the bounze medal for specifically numed campaigns, even some of the 1 tost problematic. of these actions. Again, the halser's public personal and endorsement of the faithful participation in the campaign against the rebuling sonatives in South endorsed these specific events and campaigns indicates the State's 4 pport campaagns where genouse and other atrocities had occurred. That it pure acts model supports the eventers of her link to Ven Tecthes campage.

As inverdables, You from a endergree is specifically groundled levers. and tautament to approva as While the genorale orgen from the German gove by near tisty well not have been sapicar it was supjust in the instructions Von Trotha received that he was to just down the rebelling by any means official instruction that the given innerit smaply decided not to publicly was on a newspaper article. The victor of the German authorities of response fair or foul frence You Truthas policy may well have seen a caractate. or enclorse

Even a Cerman government report drawn, p.o. 508 d.d not rehalse von Tretha for his concact of the war. Mihough the interim report adhabed a section curried ( rada t of the war, that section was absent in the final report to be did not refer to fernethingspootes in the saccers directive to amend the extermination order was the only counternanding of the orders exted any low world or callet and red desires by the military toward those in When it was withdrawn, it was not because of the brutality employed, but of was ral factors, including that it was imperetical to become Cicking a count kell all the Herero as they needed the populations dalor is all the bruta its war-GSWA Even then, Germany did not retract the order annichards or willingly because the ha ser was under pressure to do so. This press in was the result megatively after inglicing any simputation. Thus, the made tight confidently both and they he I state proceed Whatever in Line's custome existed the net every a solation it developed in the context of a state that a cepted and safett and such practices, a state that explicitly or implicitly expected such conduct.

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Crucially, the Kaiser continued to oversee events in GSWA even after 1905. On 1 December 1905, when Landequist, the new governor, announced the care of a continued of the Witheau, covering a link with a continued of the base was only of the announced the content of the continued of the content of the cont

#### Conclusion

interaction to reduce the gard of the copy of my time of the cheap and denote GSWA more those grass. They the transfer on the care the sorre upperfits for Non- of menting of me his was to be read or The Kaiser's role in the Henero genucide would appear to have been far more the control of the co time, which incorporated the need for lebenswim, the quest for a Mrico colony where German amigrants could settle, where land was plentifu, destructed to by the transmit of the control of the to the safe to be the best to be the safe of the safe what is known I Wilher His as a cythe distriction. They will be was one of outrage and indignation and that is was your given a give it. unitial response was characterist. Alto that promite - Bernard ven Balan. then Foreign Secretary, later recorded in his memours that he taid "never seen Kasser Wilhelm in such excatement as during the first phase of the Chinese the general that a refer to receige was after one others tasts in ... CHS CERRIT SEC.

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### CONCLUSION

#### Introduction

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Propaganda postcard of Herero revolt

448 Paramount Chief Rimako, responding to the official apology of the Federal

Terpulsic of Germany given on August 19

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German troops, many of whom had previously exercised brutal treatment an indigenous populations in different parts of the world, killed then, women in this property of the world, killed then, women in this property of the command of General Adrian Destrict Lother von Trotha, most likely at the command of General Adrian Destrict Lother von Trotha, most likely at the unstruction of Kauser Wilhelm II—both had a history of ordering and a planned, announced, systematic and indiscriminate extermination of the street in

The color of the twentieth tentury! Betwees 60000 and leading the twentieth tentury! Betwees 60000 and leading the transportation of the twentieth tentury! Betwees 60000 and leading the transportation of the twentieth tentury of them women and there were the twentieth of the transportation of the transportation of the transportation of the color of the transportation of the color of the twentieth of the color of the transportation of tran

Inwesty the genocide of the Herero was achieved by means of German wasks. [labs, by langing, by Jurning the futts where they Jived or by forcing them into the desert to die,3 When the order was amended, the extermination continued in a less overt manner. A few thousand Herero were captured and placed in concentration camps, where thousands died due in ill restricted, diseases and starvistion. Different and smaller duet rations were given to Herero pricovers than to presente from other communities. In addition, they were used as alove labour for both public and private enterprise. Some of the concentration ramps were run by the colonial authorities, whereas others

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Frachial, P & Marry, R. (1985) The Namitius Report, No 19. Lendon. Minority Rights Group International, 6

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Thus Germany's genotide against the Hereto ranks anoug the most with the control of the control

are and the country the following themes have emerged.

- the Herera genocide was motivated by German colon 4 page 10 to 10.
- the contraction of CNA Contraction of the Contracti
- the person is a man a define at expense and the formal section of the section section of
- German pride, though racism ran as a strong undercurrent the earnst

### German colonial policies

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Chapter Twu, the British brutalised the people of present-day Kenya Neuther Was Carmany of the confine to 1888 I the course done German colored at the material conducted a murderous campaign against modernemployed corporal panishment against the indigenous people of Cameronn Mannitedity, the same state of affairs held true for other European colonies r. Africa. Germany was hardly alone in subjugating indigenous peoples throughout its colones or brutally queling rebellon. As mentioned in day Tanzanana around the same trace as the Herero genecide and routinely and East Africa Within GSWA, colounal administrators lad previously abused non-Herero peoples, most notably the Nama.

However, the Merero's possession of variable land and cattle, in addition to for extinction by their colonial oppressors. Germany's prolonged subjugation of the tribe is evidence of its disgust with the Herero's resistance. Even after the resistion of acta - how the between the Herero and GSWA settlers in the fresh asters wit colonial admi stratury and wren't you prince the Herero to join the forma Tabour market. All of this occurred despite General Von Lindequist The persistence of marder dispossession and oppression even after these fundamental personnel changes in the territorial and a second changes and the territorial and the second changes and the second changes and the second changes are the that the impering intent to quash cutirely what ato, remains at a cream done atton of the territory - represented more than a few personalities in I am Cartivary 1 to 10 a at late on Herero ownership of cattle, replaced von Trotha's departure from GSWA and the arrival of a new governor, alones as a self to prove the rear reaches and cement Germany's their unrelenting resistance to German domination, marked them specifica ly Cost 1 t extended to Berlin.

i addition to murdering, raping and castles ang the Herero, German calonial officials responded to Herero insolence by creating reserves to accommodate the tribe once settlers had acquired their land. The Rhemsh missionaries, who yet another impetus for the Herero to revol: in 1904 Indeed, 113 shown in disapproved, leaked this plan to the Herero. The reservist strategy provided Chapter One, disagneenent setween the Henera and GSWA admin six tors over the reserves borders preceded the revolt

the production has not make words alway Certific attent to over Herero NAME OF CASA 1 the were to be shot on sign to practice, the Germans even exterm nated women and children. As argued in Chapter Two persions While, prior to 1904, German forces targeted the Herera with corporal supplied the section of the Content of the mental act of the architecture extermination order, or vernehingshefeld, that their subjugation became refurnition of the orders wintence only fuels German denial with an the state as a up cond in the way to reconnect in Couples. Two

In the following the study confirms Germany's tatent to and the state of the state of through statestion, dislocated and outright claims that are less plassible gives the discovery of the Blue Book, a British

the respect of the rependent the foreign was considered with decree ating endured by a . . genous people in Africa at the turn of the ... Outh pentury German South West Africa's unique status among Germany's colonies As this book has shown, GSWA was mure than a distant acquisition His minute said to the first the first of the first the a tabula mag appen will be to make tentamen. It is I as stage to enlocus — among Cerman color a a mas status and the lare page a hame and abroad accounts for Germany's citizeness, property on the German state Rather, Germany considered a second

regardless of the costs

As a the listing, down incestment in the territory, as well as year Committee at the bire demonstrate GSWAs vauled status A TIR Germany As early 8# 1898, German capital dominates the GSWA Personal Colored & grandle St. Mer mans - Color between Vinca combined. The years preceding and following the Herero rebellion to the me than we specific to see the feet witnessed the most intense spending

In any ment County deployed a disproportionate amount of troops to GSWA in comparison to its other colonies. Moreover, African conscripts were to think is not after the allegent for the end the part of the second of the sensitivity of the serder population. Also, mintary forces were not the only people reconsoling a retail the residence above and a which me Continuorine of any to the most of a most tree direct Riposon and Constant and a star to me may of the creation damed be all to the Ransa date to Bellie Whee where it Shit is a military was to be a single there is a reality that and the firstly of the first (a mails and the second and many makes a few parts from the parts chals we say got to distributed

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years leading up to the genocide in u ated the emigranty including restrictions on it the Covernor last post to the secretarial of the secretarial

# German and international posities at the turn of the twentieth century

All a political landscape in the international arena, as well as in the German state, also drove Germany's aggressive behaviour in its colonies. In the early 1900s, colonies were a means by which Western states achieved stature on the international stage. This fall is the Germany State and asserting a second as passed in the many of second and are the comment of the second asserting to that a second and thus merited the harsh rate that is book, GSWA fell into the latter eargory and thus merited the harsh rate that the cern an inquiring quarter for the section of the section of the section of the section of the form the dings led to it being the first in all to other the prosessions after World W.

The series of th Moreover, Germany was not in the same league as other Western powers, such as Great Britain and France, when it came to the race to colonise the New World As a result of Germany's late entry into the colonial race, it engaged in particularly brutal methods to acquire sufficient territory in SIZE and presture - in ander to place it on par with its European brethren. This inferiority complex is partly to blame for Germany's atrocious treatment of its colonies, as it sought to acquire trade routes, emigration space and new in virial an rooks. They some the Here a dance or the program of Golffinger particulary stages a supplied for the stage of the stage an the am bretails in a little to tright ext a hearter to a make of THE REPORT OF THE PARTY OF THE Germans raced in queuring Herero unscontent created Ricther embarrassment for the country at a time when national prestige was measured in part by colonial conquest. A decisive victory over and strong measage to the Elevero the Saight of the stiller. The deep, on at i species he was thus essential as a matter of German pride and stature

Thus GSWA was not just any colony Germany hoped it would become a 'Thus GSWA was not just any colony Germany hoped it would become a 'new Germany,' a place that could accommodate the thousands of étuigrés that Germany had been losing to the United States and other countries because the Fatherland's territory and markets had become too small for its bomming permeat n== However, to entice Germana to move to Southern Africa as early as 1882, the country's leadership had to promise them land, security and the

I work if y to live as Germans lived in a place distant from Europe. Med a remain was consequently to the control of the contr

### The aims of the Herero generade

As the book has shown, the authoritarian inture of the are set of each drive Germany's general  $n_{\rm eff}$  could be a set of each of each of the area of the area

To dense presented in chapter one of General von Trothos statements reveals that be consciously viewed Herero massacres as a means by which to cross the ribe. While public executions of Herero had begun well before according to an analysis of the ribe of the ribe with the ribe with the ribe of the ribe of

CV THIS TAY, SIGN I SECRET THE WAS A TAX THE PROPERTY OF THE STANDARD OF THE S

As illustrated in Chapter One, the Herero were singled out for externatiation by Germany because they inhabited the lion's share of arable larse — to say nothing of earthe—front among Nanibasa many ethnic groups. However, German officials did not resort to violence timediately. They began with scarpingins of trickery ordecets. For example, they changed, in the answer of carriers or pited, they changed in the inhabite to make the inhapenous concept of land tenure, which reviewed around collective usuffur rather than individual title. Thus, despite the contracts that Germana thought they had a make any later the outside a contracts that Germana thought they was the any later than individual title. Thus, despite the contracts that Germana thought they was the as a that a later than individual title. Thus, despite the contracts that Germana thought they was a that a later than individual title for a single than the angle of the ang

I of orthograph, either effections in the Hererox spaces or ref. Their land and the vot in 18-16 and set did from the Maring lass interesting a new that compelled it to cede some of its land rights. A timiler is system the services much of the Herero's livestock, while having less impact upon the services modulated stocks. With the Herero in a weak economic position, German settlers instituted several legislative ploys to divest the tribe of its remaining assets. The coloniats emerched denocommit propagas and ordit laws that the Hinnes it is easy repay in earlie for lack of curroncy Not only did this discussions laws as a new and the settle services and at the above the discussion of eithir printe given that eartie are integral to Herero cuttire. As a result of these landicipes to it is and a state of the action of the continue As a result of these landicipes to it is a the Cartificial and a state of the continue As a result of the pustifiably bitter against the Cartifiable.

I have a toward and a surprise when the Herero rose up against the settlers in GSMA, in 1904. Contrary to the wisdom of the time, the reballion did not take to a toward was in the conflict to provoke precisely such a response As a rest the rescale presented the England the against the principle of settlers and the settlers are a transferred of settlers by Herero rebels to the did the billion to the Cermans disposed the Herero — toward the response that Germany had planned this policy extensively. It was not simply a response to a surprise Herero attack.

A third latent motivation behind the Herero genocide was Germany's racist declogy that placed the Arymn race above all others, a helief that would reappoint decades later as a motivation behind the Holocaust. German propaganda at

c. are cast the Ference as an inferior race and at the same time characterised services as launching a racist offensive against settlers via munisation and tens in the services. The force of the services of

The ideology can be found as send of Von Trotha's statements, and received in chapter two, and associated to the Herero people and in statements, and the tent of a statement of the two controls at the turn of the two chapters and the turn of the two chapters are as a control of the return of the transfer of the trans

#### German state act.on

This work has argued that, contrary to conventional wisdom, the Electric sciences was not the by-product of a right German general whose he are in the Berlin superiors left unchecker in GSWA. On the core is not any man in the large science of the core is the general large science and the large science of the core is the science of the core is the science of the large science of the general order would result in the responsibility of the German state for the Herero genocide and forms the hasts for criminal liability and reparations from Germany to the large.

Examples presented layer two plonged or little by the screen atom with the green atom with the green atom with the green to take layer restored or and a suggestion of the layer restored or little layer the street of the control of the color of the control of the color of the color of the control of the color of the c

the scope of any legal protection Accordingly, he subjected peoples under German colonal control to brutal treatment, the Herero were his — and by extension, the German state's — greatest vecting by the end of 1905.

Lablices, lapters trepers, it. | gradicent colorections and sales of the trepers in the colorection of a written order from the leaters. | will see that the colorection of a written order from the leaters. | will see that the color of a written order from the leaters. | will see that the color of a wall seed of the Kalsor's personality, leadership ethos, military background and pattern of brutality in GSWA and beyond that paints a picture of a man capable of, and indeed likely to have ordered, the annihilation of a tribe who stood in the way of his colonnal visions and national pride. Moreover, are examination of the Konor's conduct at the turn of the twenteth century, including the appointment of You Trotha after the externination policy had been announced. | a man the Kaiser knew had a violent lattice from the Kaiser knew had a violent lattic genecide in the years preceding the tribe's rebellion.

Even You Tootha's own denn's do not negate the probability that he received his extern ination orders from the Ra ser prest at a none of visitility of Trotha admitted to having free regions, it is not be not any means necessary. Second, the general straints of the harmonic of the region of the r

However, it was not merely the General who protected the truth emerging about the role of the Kaiser. As auggested above, Von Trotha would have been subject to crannal prosecution for revealing the source of his orders. This was the case under German criminal law, which made the revelation of state servets or criticism of the Kaiser punishable by imprisonment and loss of pension State practice in Germany in the early 1900s indicates that the inthorntess made good on these provisions and indeed jailed at least one German critic of the given in it is action if the interior of the given in its action in the servery.

from the stidence against the Kauser, as chapter three indicates, he stident to the second section of the secti

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that the Kaiset was the chief architect of the extermination of the Herero in GSWA and, as a result, the German store bears responsibility for indigenous locally and, as a result, the generical campaign of 1904. As argued in the analysis of 1904 is a regued in the result of the Kaiser's actions or at the very least, Germany's facil consent to his conduct — that present-day Germany must apologise and make amends to the Reservo

## The Herero genocide as a precursor to the Holocaust

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Semilarly, German colonial authorities during the early 1000s banned interracial marriage, enoughing degretic experimentation on the Herero enforced the wearing of ethnic identity symbols private filterior, and as Nari 10 are and the grin reference of the marriage, and the grin reference of the semination of the semi

#### Conclusion

This book has argued, on the basis of historical evidence, that Germany is red to the state of the circuit the was a condition and any energy of the first that the condition of the condition of

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